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La Clase Divina of Puebla: A Socio-economic History of a Mexican Elite, 1790-1910.

by

Alexander James McGuckin ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

History

Department of History and Classics

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1995

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"If all men have five senses, the Poblanos have seven."

Mexican Proverb

University of Alberta

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "LA CLASE DIVINA OF PUEBLA: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF A MEXICAN ELITE, 1790-1910" submitted by ALEXANDER JAMES McGUCKIN in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

David C. Johnson

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Burton M. Smith

Date approved: May 29, 1995

In memory of
John Stanton McGuckin
His generosity and unquestioning support will
never be forgotten.

ABSTRACT

This regional study of the city of Puebla examines the unique social and economic behaviour of the *poblano* elite during the nineteenth century and *Porfiriato*. The distinct socio-economic lifestyle exhibited by the poblano upper class had its roots in Puebla's industrial and manufacturing economy. For the '*clase divina*' or upper class of Puebla, economic success, acceptance, and elite status were achieved and maintained through their involvement in textiles and milling. Because elite membership placed such a high value on the acquisition of wealth, recent immigrants with entrepreneurial skills, were successful in becoming prominent upper class poblanos in a relatively short time. While the Porfirian period is known for modernizing Mexico and restructuring its economy, the economic behaviour of the poblano elite did not change during the Porfirian period. Involvement in industry was still the key to success for a number of upper class poblanos.

In contrast to the relatively static economic activity, elite social behaviour underwent dynamic change with the advent of the Porfirian period. During the first six decades of the nineteenth century, elite lifestyle remained insular and sectarian. Entertainment, social gatherings and leisure activities reflected both Ibero-Mexican and European traditions. Modification in the elite's social behaviour came as a result of Porfirian positivism. The upper social strata of Puebla denied their own rich heritage and proceeded to adopt the physical and cultural trappings of Europe to their own lifestyle. The extent of this social transformation was such that many traditional Mexican cultural traits were rejected by the upper class. Contemporary intellectuals postulated that engaging in traditional 'Mexican' social diversions were antithetical to a progressive and modern state.

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This work would not have been possible without the generous assistance of friends, academics and family in México. Special thanks go to: Annette whose help and lively conversation helped ease my frustration during my visits to the Archivo General de Notarías de Puebla; Aldo Rivero Pastor for inviting me to his house and allowing me to rummage through his family's personal library and documents; Araminta and Lic. Gabriel Ibarra for providng me with a place to stay and eat; Dr. Ramses Romero for taking the time to discuss the the present state of Mexico with me (especially his theory on how *la Malinche* was related to Mexico's 2nd round defeat in the World Cup); Pilar Romero; Luís Balderas; and to all my Mexican relatives, especially my grand-parents, Alejo and Carmen for their interest in my work.

Two people deserve special mention, my late grandfather, John S. McGuckin, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude I will never have a chance to repay and Colette Rappolder whose patience, understanding and love helped me get through the frustrations and melancholy of academia.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGN	*Archivo General de la Nación*
AGP	*Archivo General de Puebla*
AGNP	*Archivo General de Notarías de Puebla*
CIHS	*Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Sociales-Instituto de Ciencias*
HAHR	*Hispanic American Histrorical Review*
HMex	*Historia Mexicana*
Pue.	The State of Puebla

LIST OF VALUES, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

I) MONEY

Mexican Currency

1 *peso* = 8 reales
1 *real* = 4 cuartillos
1 *real* = 8 tlacos
1 *real* = 12 granos

Equivalent values ca. Mid-nineteenth Century

5 *pesos* = 1 Pound Sterling
1 *peso* = 5 French Francs
1 *peso* = 1 U.S. Dollar

Equivalent values during Porfiriato

2 *pesos* = 1 U.S. Dollar

II) WEIGHTS

Mexico uses the metric system

1 *kilo* = 2.17 libras
1 *libra* = 1 English pound = 16 onzas = 0.46 kilos
1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos = 25 libras
1 *quintal* = 4 arrobas = 45 kilos = 100 lbs
1 tercio = 1 "mule load" = 7 arrobas = 80.5 kilos = 175 lbs
1 *fanega* = 65 kilos of maize = 1.5 bushels
1 *carga* = 2 fanegas = 14 arrobas = 184 kilos = 400 lbs

III) LINEAR MEASURES

1 league = 4.16 kms = 2.6 English miles
1 *vara* (Castilian yard) = 0.836 meters = 36 inches
1 piece of manta = 26.75 meters = 32 yards

Sources: Guy P.C. Thompson, *Puebla de los Angeles. Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850.*, pp. xiv.; Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía*, Vol. 2, pp. 51-52. Manuel Carrera Stampa, "The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain", *HAHR*, Vol. XXIX, 1994, pp. 2-24.

Chapter I

Introduction

Themes related to history at the national level have been the focus of historians interested in Mexico for many years. The generalizations resulting from these macro-studies assumed that the social and economic policies, foreign relations, and culture developed in Mexico City, applied or were consistent throughout the entire country. Little consideration was given to the remarkable social, cultural, and geographic diversity within Mexico's borders. In the last fifteen years, historians began to challenge the validity of these studies by focusing their investigation on specific cities, states, or regions throughout Mexico. By examining such issues as economic activity, social stratification, and politics in a regional context, it has become clear that provincial and regional diversity has had a considerable impact on the historical development of Mexico.

This study, which fits within the recent historiographical trend toward regional and micro-history, examines the social and economic behaviour of the elite in the city of Puebla during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To explore this historical phenomenon effectively, a number of important issues will be assessed so that a more complete understanding of the unique nature of the *poblano*

elite can be achieved. The first area to be discussed will concern the geographical diversity and historical evolution of Puebla. These factors were directly responsible for Puebla's distinct development as an important centre of manufacturing and industry in Mexico. The significance of Puebla's early settlement pattern and development as a leading centre of manufacturing would come to have a considerable impact on the composition and socio-economic behaviour of the elite during the nineteenth century.

A detailed description of the various social strata of Puebla will be introduced to provide insight into nineteenth century poblano society. Emphasis will be placed on the description and definition of the elite within the regional perspective of Puebla. Discussing the social structure of the city also conveys two prominent images: that Puebla was much more than a two-tiered society; and that manufacturing and industry played a significant role in the lifestyles of Puebla's diverse social strata.

These sections will provide the context and necessary background to the remainder of the study which closely examines and compares the economic and social behaviours of the elite during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The composition of the elite and the role of manufacturing and industry will become crucial components in understanding and comparing the behaviour and lifestyle of the elite throughout two separate periods in the nineteenth century.

At the outset, it should be noted that many of the historical events and intellectual currents which affected Mexico at the national level during the nineteenth century had a profound impact on the city of Puebla and its inhabitants. For the purposes of this study, the nineteenth century will be broken into two separate periods based on changes in elite socio-economic behaviour: Independence/post-Independence and the *Porfiriato*. Both of these periods had an important and distinct influence on the behaviour of the elite in Puebla.

The first period begins at the turn of the eighteenth century. This includes the struggle for Independence which began in 1810 and continues until the Tuxtepec Revolution in 1876. The Independence movement (1810-1821) had a deleterious effect on Mexico's political, social and economic institutions. As a result, the years that followed Mexican Independence were dominated by political instability, economic stagnation, and social turmoil. In the 55 years separating Independence and the Porfiriato: Mexico saw the presidency change 75 times; encountered more than three hundred successful or abortive revolutions; braved constant struggles between Liberal and Conservative factions; and endured chronic rural violence.[1] If that was not enough, Mexico was confronted with a number of external threats to its sovereignty. Confrontations with the United States

[1] Matías Romero, *Mexico and the United States*, Vol.1 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), 351. These figures were taken from an article published by Justice Walter Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

resulted in the loss of over half of its territory by 1853.[2] A decade later, the Mexican Liberal movement was toppled by Napoleon III's invasion force. The short-lived Empire (1864-1867) imposed upon Mexico by Napoleon III, was presided over by the Austrian Archduke Maximilian of Hapsburg and his wife Carlota. A year and a half later, the disgruntled liberals, led by Benito Juárez, were successful in defeating Maximilian in May 1867.

As is made evident by the brief examples cited above, Mexico was plagued with a continual wave of internal and external political, economic, and social problems. It was difficult for politicians to devote time to restructuring the political system and restart the economy. Benito Juárez and his successor Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada began to move Mexico towards a new direction of political and economic Liberal reform but with little success.[3] So, when Porfirio Díaz assumed the presidency in 21 November 1876, he inherited a

---

[2] After a war with the United States, the Mexican government was obliged to sign the The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ceded New Mexico, California, and Texas to the United States. Arizona and New Mexico were later purchased by the United States government in 1853 for 10 million dollars, a move which spawned considerable outrage among the Mexican people. Over a period of seven years, Mexico had lost half of its territory.

[3] Benito Juárez and Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada did not have much of a chance to be successful, because they were never in office long enough. Juárez had to deal with constant opposition, and when he finally had his opportunity, died soon thereafter (July 19, 1872). Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada was ousted in 1876 during Diaz's Revolution de Tuxtepec. See Laurens Ballard Perry, *Juárez and Díaz: Machine Politics in Mexico*, (DeKalb: Northern University Press, 1978) and "Chapter 24: The Restored Republic, 1867-76: Nascent Modernization" in Michael C.Meyer and William L. Scherman. *The Course of Mexican History*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.), 403-415.

country that was bankrupt, in debt, and backward, in comparison to the rapidly expanding countries of western Europe and the United States.

The Porfiriato marks the second period in the nineteenth century that was responsible for having an immense impact on the poblano elite. In contrast to the political instability of the previous 55 years, Porfirio Díaz controlled Mexico for the next three and a half decades. Heavily influenced by positivism, the *Porfiristas* set out to put Mexico onto a new course of modernization. Pursuing the positivist *dictum* of 'order and progress' Díaz and his supporters set out to pacify and modernize his country.[4] What resulted by 1910 was an authoritarian, centralized, patriarchal regime, under the guise of a Liberal democracy.

The desire to emulate the progressive and modern models of the United States and the countries of western Europe originated in the popular positivist doctrine. The role of positivism and its influence on the Porfiriato cannot be understated.[5] Gabino Barreda, the father of positivism in Mexico, set the stage by proclaiming that 'order and progress' were the keys to Mexico's future potential.[6] Those

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[4] Gabino Barreda, "A Civic Oration" Guanajuato, September 16, 1867. Re-printed in Carlos B. Gil, (ed.) *The Age of Porfirio Diaz: Selected Readings*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977.), 33-36. 'Order and progress' was coined by Gabino Barreda, the father of Mexican positivism.

[5] See Leopoldo Zea, *Positivism in Mexico*, Trans. by Josephine H. Schultz (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968.)

[6] Barreda, 33-36.

two words would come to form the underlying philosophy of the Porfiriato. Barreda, who studied in France under the founder of the positivist ideology Auguste Comte, believed that the foundation for success had been formed during the reform movement under Juárez. What was needed to see these reforms succeed was order, progress, industrialization, and modernization. In his civic oration delivered on 1867 in Guanajuato, Barreda advocated that "in the future let our motto be Liberty, Order, and Progress; Liberty as means; Order as a base, and Progress as an end; it is a triple motto represented by the tricolor on our beautiful flag, that same flag which became in 1821 a blessed emblem of our independence."[7] The positivists believed that to achieve modernization, Mexico had to first and foremost pull itself out of the turmoil it had been in for half a century by establishing peace throughout Mexico. Once stability was achieved, an active campaign to seek foreign investment to finance the infrastructure and the economy could begin. This they believed was the key to a successful and prosperous Mexico.

The results of modernization during the Porfiriato were remarkable. Not only did Mexico pay off its debt to the United States in 1890, it was able to balance the budget and even record a surplus in 1894.[8] By the end of the Porfiriato

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[7] Barreda, 35-36.

[8] Meyer and Scherman, 441-442.

there were 70 million pesos in cash reserves.[9] While Mexican transportation and communication facilities were almost non-existent in 1876, by 1910 there were 30,400 kilometers of railway, new highways being built, and all major cities in Mexico were linked by wireless telegraph stations (72 thousand kilometers).[10] The new advances in transportation facilitated growth in the agriculture, manufacturing, textile and mining sectors, as well as the domestic market. Almost every sector of the economy experienced a considerable increase in production, and with new cordial relations being established among the major foreign powers, new markets were found for Mexican products. Mexico's foreign trade increased from 50 million pesos in 1876 to 488 million pesos in 1910.[11] Gold mining increased from 1.5 million to 40 million pesos, and silver mining jumped from 24 million to 85 million pesos.[12] Major Mexican cities also began to pump money into expensive building projects, such as elegant marble theatres, expansive boulevards, and parks. Foreign dignitaries heaped

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[9] *Ibid.*, 442.

[10] James Creelman, "President Díaz. Hero of the Americas." *Pearson's Magazine*, Vol. XIX (March 1908) 3: 231-277.

[11] That is combined exports and imports. All the figures for foreign trade can be found in *Estadísticas Económicas del Porfiriato: Comercio Exterior de México, 1877-1911*, Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1960), 480 and 512.

[12] José F. Godoy, *Porfirio Díaz: The Master Builder of a Great Commonwealth*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), 116.

praise upon Díaz and his regime because of the speed in which he turned his country around.[13]

However, the phenomenal modernization process and economic expansion experienced by Mexico under the Porfiriato did not translate into tangible benefits or increased living standards for the lower classes and indigenous people. A decrease in real wages resulted in a marked decline in purchasing power. Local autonomy, once enjoyed by a number of villages, began to erode with the trend towards centralization and land speculation. For instance, 95 per cent of Mexico's indigenous villages had lost their traditional communal lands to foreign investors and large business ventures by 1910.[14] Debt peonage and other forms of exploitive labour increased as farmers were forced from their lands. These examples represent only a few of the injustices the lower strata of Mexico were compelled to endure under the Porfiriato's 'progressive' policies. By 1910, the political and social discontent with the Porfirian regime was manifested in the form of one of the bloodiest revolutions in America.

Ostensibly, the elite benefited the most from Porfirian positivism and the modernizing process. Yet, as previously mentioned, various cities and regions throughout Mexico reacted to Porfirian progress in different ways. It is

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[13] *Ibid.*, see last chapter on comments made by foreign dignitaries about Porfirio Díaz.

[14] Friedrich Katz. "Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies," *HAHR*, Vol. 54, (1974), 1.

traditionally assumed that the modernization process and favourable economic policies were responsible for socio-economic change among the Mexican elites. However, for the elite in Puebla, the positivist doctrine and the *Pax Porfiriana* were the catalysts for profound behavioural change and lifestyle alteration.

Located in central Mexico, Puebla's unique history and economic importance has been overshadowed by the historical events which focused upon Mexico City. As a result, there is a paucity of studies about the elite of Puebla, and many questions about their economic and social realities have yet to be answered. This study of the poblano elite will serve to demonstrate the role and importance regional diversity had on the unique development and evolution of the poblano upper class.

To study the nineteenth century behaviour and lifestyle of the elite in the city of Puebla, the four remaining chapters will be divided as follows: Chapter II examines Puebla's geographical location, foundation, and historical development as it evolved from the colonial period into the Porfiriato. Through the analysis of these three components it is possible to highlight the unique industrial nature of Puebla and its inhabitants. Chapter III is divided into two sections: the first section provides the theoretical background for the definition of 'elite' that will be used throughout the study; the second section describes Puebla's diverse social structure. Chapter IV and V specifically

explore the economic and social behaviour of the elite during the Independence/post-Independence and Porfirian periods. The types of behaviours the elite engaged in, and the changes that occurred during the Porfiriato will be examined in relation to the significance of industry, status, and foreign background.

Chapter II

The City of Puebla

The city of Puebla's historical development and location played a significant role in determining the composition and socio-economic behaviour of its elite throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods. Even though agriculture remained an important aspect of the economy throughout this period, Puebla's socio-economic development centered around manufacturing and industry. The reliance on this type of activity set Puebla apart from the other major centres in Mexico and soon became the unique and identifiable trademark of the city and its inhabitants. The reason the city of Puebla progressed in a manner distinct from the rest of Mexico came as a result of its fortuitous geographical location, the nature of the foundation of the city, and its economic evolution. It is essential, therefore, to have a precise understanding of these unique factors which had an immense influence on the behaviour of the elite.

The city of Puebla de Zaragoza is the capital of the Mexican state which bears the same name.[15] This landlocked

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[15] The proper noun 'Puebla' should not to be confused with the Spanish word '*pueblo*' which is used to describe a group of people or a small village.

state is one of the eleven central states of Mexico and shares a border with seven other states including Veracruz in the north and east, Guerrero and Oaxaca in the south, and Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, Mexico, and Morelos in the west.[16] (see Map 1) The state of Puebla consists of some 33,902 square kilometers which is 1.7% of the total area of Mexico.[17]

The state of Puebla occupies the southeastern portion of the *Mesa de Anáhuac* or Mexican plateau which is a large area within central Mexico consisting of numerous valleys and basins frequently interrupted by imposing mountain ranges and volcanic ridges. The surrounding physical barriers of the state of Puebla are almost as numerous as the states that it borders. The western portion of the state shares the natural border of the Sierra Nevada where the snow-capped volcanoes Popocatépetl (5450m) and Iztaccíhuatl (5280m) tower over the city of Puebla. The Sierra Madre Oriental range rises in the east where the peak of Orizaba (5747m), the highest mountain

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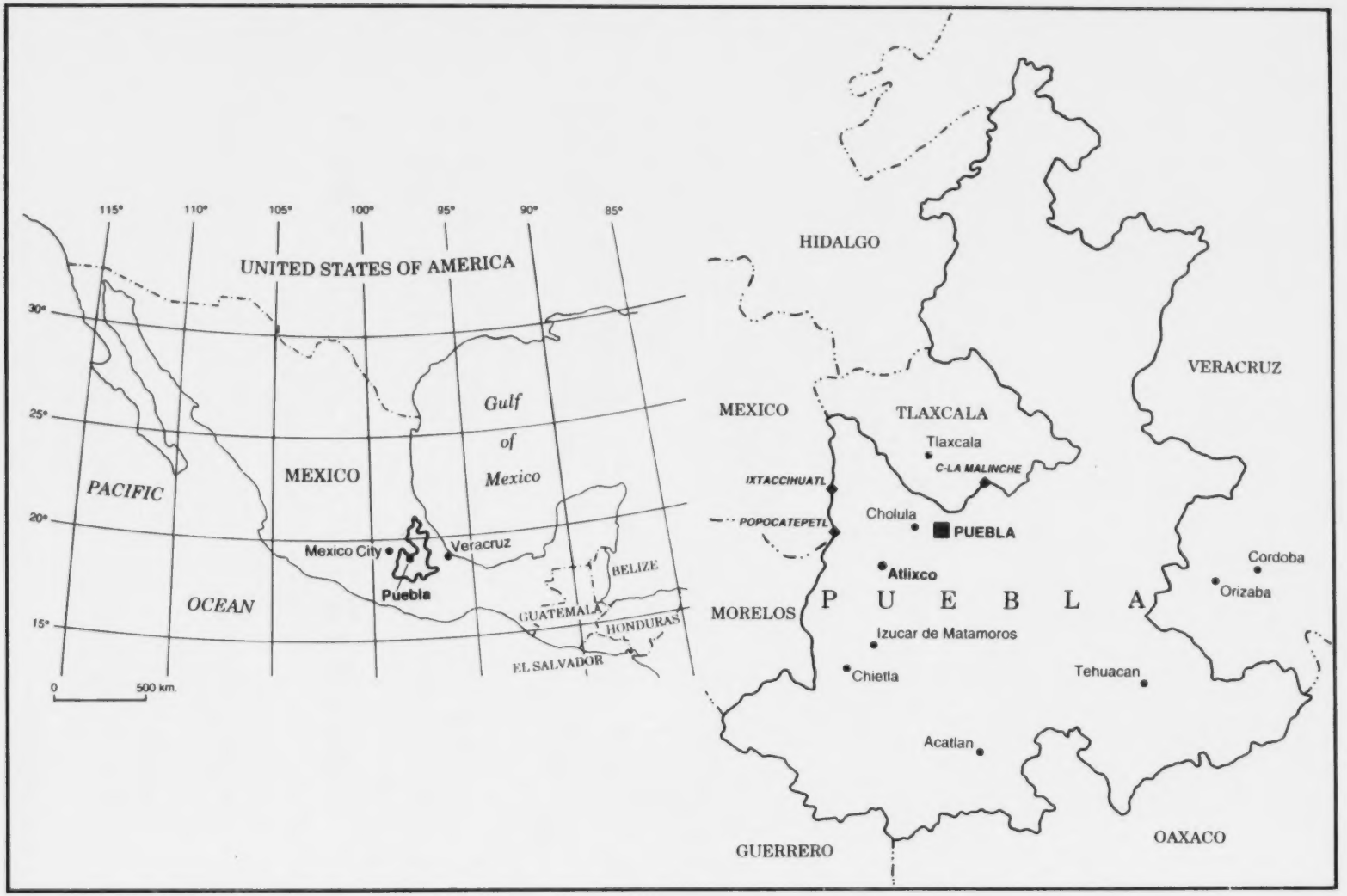
[16] The United Mexican States were divided into one federal district, twenty-seven states, and three territories. The states were broken into regions described as the Pacific states (7), Gulf States, Northern States (4) and the Central States (11) which included Aguascalientes, Durango, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Mexico, Morelos, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Tlaxcala, and Zacatecas. The state of Puebla, its districts and municipalities were finalized in the 1894 revision of the Constitution. There were territorial disputes with Hidalgo and Tlaxcala up until the 1900's. AGN, *Gobernación. Relaciones con los estados y terrenos.*1900. Ludmila Borisovna de León and Francisco Téllez Guerrero, "La division territorial del estado de Puebla, 1824-1910" in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribución al estudio de su historia.*, 22.

[17] José Rogelio Alvarez, *et al.* (eds.) *Todo México. Compendio enciclopédico 1985.* (Mexico: Enciclopédia de México, 1985.), 157. The total area of Mexico after 1848 when Mexico lost Texas, California and New Mexico was 1,958,201 km., four times as large as France or Spain., 201.



MAP 1. State of Puebla and Surrounding Area

in Mexico, is easily visible in the southeastern section of the state.[18]

Even though Puebla is not one of the larger states, it nevertheless possesses a diverse geographical landscape which can be divided into three regions. The north or *sierra* is in a temperate zone dominated by mountains and high plateaus. This area has a wide range in temperature and precipitation due to varying altitudes. In stark contrast, the south, which receives the least amount of precipitation, is located in a dry, arid zone that is much warmer year-round with an average annual precipitation of about 300 millimeters.[19] Characteristic of this area are dry river beds and wide valleys which make it ideal for growing corn.

The central portion of the state, where the city of Puebla is located, is called the Puebla basin. The Puebla basin, which is in a temperate zone, extends roughly 144 kilometers east-west, bounded on each side by the Sierra Nevada and Sierra Madre Oriental and 128 kilometers north-south running into the Sierra Madre Oriental in the north and the Sierra Mixteca in the south.[20] Surrounded by three

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[18] Angel María Garibay K.. (Director). *Diccionario Porrúa*. Vol. II. (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1976.), 1684.

[19] Jorge A. Vivo, *Geografía de México*. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1948.), 85; and David G. LaFrance. "A People Betrayed: Francisco I. Madero and the Mexican Revolution in Puebla."(Ph.D. Dissertion. Indiana University, 1984), 2.

[20] Francisco Téllez Guerrero. "La harina de trigo y el pósito de maíz en Puebla, 1820-1840". in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*. pp. 155.; Guy P.C. Thomson. *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.), 3.

volcanoes, the Puebla region is dominated by rolling plains and mountains (see Map 2). In comparison to other basins within the Mexican plateau, the Puebla region is the most varied ecologically and meteorologically. The temperature in the summer tends to stay within the low to mid-twenty degrees Celsius range with the winter temperatures averaging between fifteen to eighteen degrees Celsius.[21] During the winter months it is not uncommon for the temperature to dip close to the freezing mark at night.[22] The months between October and April are usually dry with very little precipitation, whereas the rainy season occurs during the summer months with an average rainfall between 580 and 750 millimeters.

There are few areas where there is not enough adequate rainfall to support arable farming. Rivers and streams fed by the three snow-capped volcanoes provide fresh water to many areas of the state.[23] The combination of a high elevation and prevailing winds result in cooler temperatures for the central valley of Puebla. For this reason, Puebla is considered to have one of the most ideal climates in all of Mexico.[24] Visitors to the state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remarked on how agreeable the dry moderate climate was, especially in comparison to the

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[21] *Diccionario Porrúa*. Vol. II. p. 1684.

[22] Vivo. p. 87.

[23] Thomson, 3.

[24] Enrique Juan Palacios, *Puebla y su territorio*. Puebla, 1917, Vol. I, 140.

stifling humidity encountered in the state of Veracruz from which most visitors came on their way to Mexico City.[25]

The actual site of the city is located on a spacious, level and fertile savanna. The reason such an ideal site was devoid of any indigenous settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards was because it was, at the time, located in between three warring pre-Columbian city states of Tlaxcala, Totimehuacán-Cuautinchán and Cholula.[26] This area, intersected by the Atoyac, San Francisco and Alseseca rivers, was traditionally called *Cuetlaxcoapan*, which meant "the place where rattlesnakes leave their skin".[27] The neighbouring indigenous city states treated it as a kind of no-mans land or buffer zone where any movement towards populating this region meant certain war against the offending party.

Situated within the shadows of the Malinche, Popocatépetl and Iztaccíhuatl volcanoes, the city of Puebla had the geographical advantage of valleys extending in every direction. This resulted in easy accessibility to the diverse

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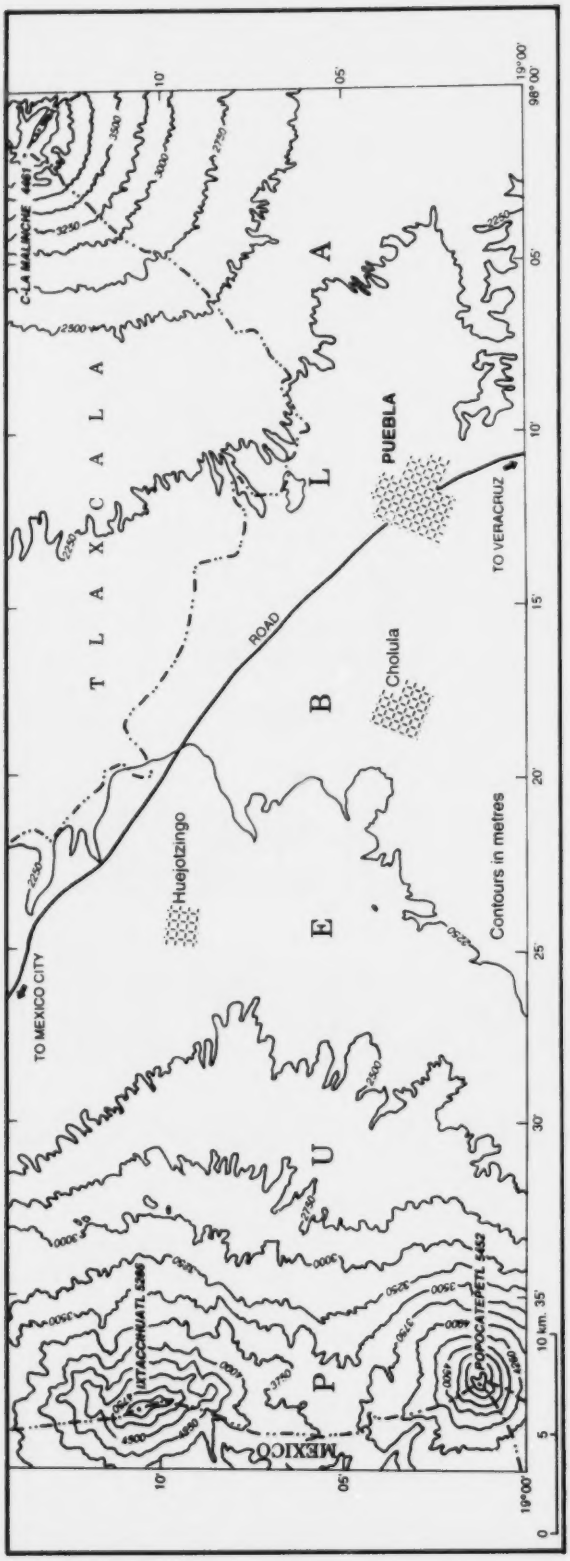
[25] Percy F. Martin, *Mexico of the Twentieth Century*. Vol.II. (London: Edward Arnold, 1907.), 98. and E.H. Blichfeldt. *A Mexican Journey*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1912.), 175. F. Hopkinson Smith. *A White Umbrella in Mexico*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1889.), 128.; Frederick A. Ober. *Travels in Mexico and Life Among the Mexicans*. (Boston: Estes and Luariat, 1885.), 497-501.

[26] Antonio Carrión. *Historia de la Ciudad de los Angeles*. Vol. I (Puebla: Editorial José M. Cajica Jr., 1897.), p. 12-21. and Thomson, 6.

[27] Anonymous. *Puebla en el Virreinato*. Documento anónimo inédito del siglo XVIII. (Puebla: Centro Estudios Históricos de Puebla, 1965.), p. 1. and Enrique Cordero y Torres. *Historia compendiada del Estado de Puebla*. (Puebla: Publicaciones de Grupo Literario "Bohemia Poblana", 1965.), 1.



MAP 2. City of Puebla and Surrounding Area

markets within the state and municipality throughout the colonial and post-colonial era.[28]

West and northwest from the city attenuate the valleys which eventually lead to Mexico City. This region, including the district of Cholula, contained the most fertile and valuable arable land within the state and proved to be the most productive.[29] The land was blessed with ample water and fertile volcanic soil. The most common agricultural production in this area included temperate fruits and vegetables, maize, wheat and maguey, which resulted in the lucrative business of *pulque* production.[30]

Towards the north of the city a fertile wheat producing valley called Nativitas quickly runs into two natural barricades, the Bloque de Tlaxcala and the Malinche. This hilly and mountainous region nevertheless proved very useful to Puebla because of the pastoral lands which made it an ideal location for grazing sheep. Much of the wool for Puebla's textile *obrajes* was produced there.[31]

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[28] Estimated distance from the city of Puebla to the three surrounding volcanoes: 40 km. to Iztaccíhuatl; 35 km. to Popocatépetl; and 20 km. to La Malinche.

[29] Thomson., 10-11.

[30] Pulque is a pre-Columbian alcoholic beverage derived from the fermented juice of the maguey plant. Used primarily as a ceremonial or ritual intoxicant before European contact, it soon became widely used by the Indigenous population of Mexico after the arrival of the Spaniards. While excessive drinking did become a problem, Pulque was nevertheless an important nutritional source containing protein, vitamin B, and vitamin C. For more on pulque and its importance in Mexican society see William B. Taylor. *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979.)

[31] An *obraje* or textile mill produced coarse cloth for the Mexican population that could not afford the imported commodity. The *obrajes*

A long and unbroken valley extending about one hundred kilometers southeast of Puebla passes through the temperate zone into the dry arid valley of Tehuacán and finally into the Sierra Madre and Sierra Mixteca mountains. Many market towns line these connected valleys and supplied not only Puebla but the bordering state of Veracruz with maize, wheat and vegetables.[32]

Southwest from Puebla lies a chain of valleys which pass through the arid valley of Atlixco and terminates in the sub-tropical valleys of Izucar, Chietla, Chiautla and Acatlán.[33] While the southwest was the most sparsely populated area within the state it nevertheless produced a variety of agricultural products which increased the diversity of goods sold in the markets of Puebla. The valley of Atlixco produced the typical staples of the Mexican diet which included wheat, beans, maize and vegetables. However, further south in the sub-tropical valleys it was possible to harvest other commodities which could not be grown in the colder temperate or even arid zones. These included "...pomegranates, peanuts, cumin, chick peas, aniseed, saffron, avocados, dates and melons".[34]

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commonly referred to as 'sweatshops', were notorious for their harsh treatment of the workers. Ramón Eduardo Ruiz. *Triumphs and Tragedy: A History of the Mexican People*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1992.), 76.; Thomson, 11.

[32] Thomson, 9-10.

[33] *Ibid.*, 10.

[34] *Ibid.*, 10.

The city of Puebla, as a result of its location, was directly connected to the most important productive areas of the state. As a result, Puebla did not have to rely on the steady importation of foodstuffs since a wide variety of food products could be grown or raised within the state's three diverse regions. Furthermore, the valleys which connected Puebla to the rest of the state meant that many small markets could be reached in one or two days of travel. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Puebla also found ready markets for its flour in the surrounding states of Mexico, Veracruz and Oaxaca, as well as an overseas market in Cuba, Florida, Venezuela, and Guatemala.[35] Other important centres such as Mexico City and Veracruz did not have the same easy access or availability to markets and had to consistently rely on the importation of extra-regional products. This was a result of their inability to keep up with supply and demand, the propensity for unpredictable weather in these regions, and the imposing natural barriers that made travel and the transportation of goods a strenuous, expensive and dangerous ordeal.

The ideal geographical location of Puebla and the abundance of its natural resources are two of the many factors which made Puebla different from many other cities

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[35] *Ibid.*, 15. The farmers and merchants' most lucrative trade came during periods of war, especially in Cuba during the late eighteenth century. For instance, Puebla had an annual contract in the 1790's to supply Havana with 18,000 cargas of flour. For information dealing with maize and flour in the nineteenth century see Francisco Téllez Guerrero. "La harina de trigo y el pósito de maíz en Puebla, 1820-1840"

within Mexico. As a result of the copiousness of arable and fertile land, the Puebla region was the first in New Spain to come under the plough.[36] Puebla's location was also significant in that natural disasters such as drought and crop failures did not happen with the same frequency as they did in the north and east.

More importantly, however, was the ability of the state to make up for any shortage that might occur during a potential drought or frost and subsequently avoid a subsistence crisis. Tehuacán de las Granadas was the second largest city in the state of Puebla. Located in the southern corner of the state, Tehuacán was far enough away from Puebla and its colder climate that it was not affected by the frosts that sometimes wreaked havoc on the crops. Tehuacán, which rarely experienced frost in its arid climate, provided relief for areas which experienced poor harvests due to inclement weather. Undoubtedly, the same co-operation worked in reverse, for when the Tehuacán valley experienced a drought, the Puebla basin and sierra would compensate for any food shortages.

The city of Puebla is one of the few cities in Mexico which had such an advantageous geographical location. While many other cities such as Mexico City and Zacatecas expanded and prospered like Puebla, they nevertheless did not possess a similar level of self-sufficiency or geographical diversity. Furthermore, the knowledge that Puebla was a well

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[36] *Ibid.*, 12.

endowed and self-sufficient community attracted many foreign artisans, merchants, and manufacturers.[37] As a result of the settlement pattern, a unique trend developed where a number of poblanos set their sights on other economic pursuits which were not solely based on the traditional agricultural or mining sectors. What will become evident in the following pages is that the industrial and manufacturing mentality which developed in the sixteenth century carried over into the nineteenth century as a key component for achieving and maintaining elite status.

The location, climate, and natural abundance of its territory certainly influenced the character and evolution of the city and its people. Yet there were other factors such as the events surrounding its foundation and the privileges granted by the crown which contributed to the anomalous nature of Puebla and its inhabitants.

The unusual circumstances which surrounded the foundation of Puebla de los Angeles in 1531 resulted in a course of historical, physical, and demographic development that was distinct from any other Mexican city. Many cities in New Spain had their origins in indigenous centres which had been seized by the Spaniards at the time of the conquest. The main concern of the Spaniards was to quickly establish areas of political, economic, and military dominance over the indigenous population and Spanish settlers. Town planning, architecture, and social welfare were not high priorities at

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[37] *Ibid.*, 72-78.

the time of foundation. For example, Mexico City was built on the ruins of the *Mexica* or Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. Other cities like Veracruz were established quickly and haphazardly to suit the immediate practical needs of an invading force (such as a warehouse for supplies, reinforcements and a port for ships). Many smaller towns maintained their traditional indigenous names such as Cholula, Tlaxcala, or Atlixco. In other instances a number of towns kept their original pre-Columbian names but had Spanish added to them, as in the case of Tehuacán de las Granadas. The foundation of Puebla became the sole exception to these rules.

The city of Puebla was conceived in the minds of social planners well before the first poblano settlers arrived in the Mesa de Anáhuac. Members of the mendicant orders and the First *Audiencia* noticed that their subjects in the New World had a proclivity towards greed and exploitation. The solution, they surmised, was to create a new city designed specifically to counteract this problem.[38] This 'social dilemma' had its roots in what might be described as the 'conquistador mentality'. That is, most Spaniards living in New Spain expected to be rewarded for their involvement in conquering and colonizing this new land by receiving an *encomienda* or some sort of compensation which led to self-

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[38] Julia Hirschberg. "La fundación de Puebla de los Angeles - mito y realidad", *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 38, 1978, pp. 188.; Fausto Marin-Tamayo. "La division racial en Puebla de los Angeles bajo el regimen colonial". Puebla: Centro de Estudios Históricos de Puebla, 8-9.

enrichment.[39] The Spanish crown and its administrators soon discovered a number of problems with this system. By awarding land and labour to its colonists, the Crown in effect empowered the beneficiaries to construct their own autonomous domains and institute a hereditary feudal aristocracy. The crown realized that there was a distinct possibility that it might lose control over its newly conquered territory.[40] Another problem associated with the 'conquistador mentality' was that many did not travel to New Spain to become colonists, but rather intended to exploit the land and return to Spain once they became wealthy. The third problem was the treatment of the Indians. While the new colonists demanded their 'rewards', the result was that it usually came at the expense of the Indians who had to act as a labour force for these new colonists.[41] Not surprisingly, the already tenuous relationship between the indigenous population and the new colonists began to erode quickly.

Recognizing that there was a considerable problem with the existing system, the First Audiencia, the Franciscans,

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[39] Julia Hirschberg."Social Experiment in New Spain: A Prosopographical Study of the Early Settlement at Puebla de los Angeles." *HAHR*, Vol. 59, 1979, 2. The *encomienda* was a gift of Indian labour originally awarded to the conquistadors of Mexico. The *encomendero*, or beneficiary of the *encomienda*, received a number of Indian labourers who would work without pay of any kind. In return the encomendero would theoretically see to their welfare and provide them with protection. Needless to say, this type of labour system was shamelessly exploited.

[40] Ruíz, 58.

[41] Fausto Marín-Tamayo. "La Puebla de los Angeles ciudad experimental de América, 1531-1534". (Puebla: CEHP, 1961.), 7.

and the Dominicans agreed on an experimental proposal which would segregate the Indians from the Spaniards. Their deliberation resulted in a plan to build a new Spanish city created for Spanish colonists, not *encomenderos*, populated with hard working *labradores*.[42] It was believed that if they could prevent the exploitation of the Indians by the Spaniards by separating the two and providing land for them to farm, the "Spaniards would cease waiting for Indian reward, abandon their desire to return to the peninsula, and become models of European agricultural techniques for neighbouring Indians."[43] The Dominican Bishop of Tlaxcala, Fray Julián Garcés, fought the hardest to see this urban experiment realized.[44] Garcés arrived in New Spain in 1526 shortly after the conquest to take over a new bishopric established in Tlaxcala.[45] Educated at the Sorbonne, having worked as a missionary and influenced by humanist ideals, Garcés was quick to castigate the supporters of the *encomienda* system, as well as the abuse of the Indians and laziness exhibited by the Spaniards. After a concerted and vocal effort, Garcés' petition for a 'working class' Spanish city was successful in 1531. The Second Audiencia, headed by

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[42] Miguel Angel Cuenya. "Puebla en su demografía, 1650-1850. Una aproximación al tema." in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*. p. 51.

[43] Julia Hirschberg."Social Experiment in New Spain", 3.

[44] Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado, 1836*. Vol. I. (Puebla: Ediciones Altiplano, 1931.), 60-61.; Fausto Marín-Tamayo. "La Puebla de los Angeles", 14.

[45] Hirschberg. "La fundación de Puebla de los Angeles", 188.

Carte réduite de la Partie orientale de la Nouvelle Espagne
depuis le Plateau de la Ville de Mexico jusqu'au Port de la Veracruz.
sur les Observations Astronomiques et le Nivellement Barométrique de Mr DE HUMBOLDT.

MAP 3. Alexander Von Humboldt Map showing Distance and Routes From Puebla to Veracruz and Mexico City

Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, arrived in New Spain with orders to establish this new 'Spanish community'. Much to Garcés' disbelief, the Second Audiencia, when they arrived in Tlaxcala, decided they would move the original city plan south away from the Tlaxcalans to prevent further antagonism towards the Indians. It was decided that they would place the new community along the *camino real* that connected Veracruz to Mexico City and in between the two cities of Tlaxcala and Cholula.[46] (See Map 3) Since the city was to promote hard work, it was decided that no conquistadors were to be allowed to take part in its foundation because they were considered to be "hopelessly lazy."[47] The founders hoped that they could attract working class Spaniards from the industrious sectors of Spain.

From the outset, it was clear that Garcés' utopic vision was doomed to failure. One of the central tenets of this social experiment was the segregation of Indians and Spaniards. This was meant to protect and halt the ruthless exploitation of the indigenous population. Yet the Audiencia decreed that nearby towns were to provide temporary labour for the construction of buildings and preparation of the land for cultivation.[48] In this instance, the poblanos were exploiting Indian labour just as an encomendero would.

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[46] *Ibid.*, 188.

[47] Hirschberg."Social Experiment in New Spain", 3.

[48] *Ibid.*, 3.

The Second Audiencia, composed of four *oidores* and one president, envisioned significant economic potential in the location of Puebla instead of the social ones which had been expressed by Garcés a year earlier.[49] It is not by chance that Puebla was situated in an area where there was fertile volcanic soil and ample water. The Audiencia saw in Puebla an agricultural and trading commercial centre where European fruits and grains could be supplied to the rest of the colony.[50] Puebla also acted as a half-way station for European travelers and merchants between Veracruz and Mexico City. Before the existence of Puebla, travelers had to pass through the indigenous-populated city of Tlaxcala to reach Mexico, apparently an unnerving experience for traveling Europeans and merchants. Puebla could also act as a garrison to protect Mexico City from any invading forces which happened to break through Veracruz's defenses. Lastly, Puebla was perfectly situated between two large indigenous capitals, Cholula and Tlaxcala, which were considered hostile threats to merchants traveling along the camino real. Because of their close proximity to Puebla, these potential threats to the internal security of central Mexico could be monitored closely.

Once the final location was agreed upon, the city was founded on 16 April 1531 under the supervision of the second Audiencia. It was not until 20 March 1532 that the *cédula*

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[49] The *oidores* were Juan de Salmerón, Cristóbal Maldonado, Francisco de Zeinos and Vasco de Quiroga.

[50] Hirschberg."Social Experiment in New Spain", 3.

real for this new city called Puebla de los Angeles was signed by the Queen of Spain, Isabel de Portugal. Six years later a new cédula real was drawn up, upgrading the status of Puebla de los Angeles from *pueblo* (town) to *ciudad* (city).[51] (See Plate 1) Changing the status from pueblo to ciudad was just one of the many privileges granted from the crown which gave Puebla de los Angeles a significant advantage and preferential treatment over other cities within Mexico.

While the idea of an agrarian community for humble and hard-working Spaniards seemed good on paper, it had difficulty attracting settlers in the first couple of years. It was discovered that many of the first poblanos deserted the city when they realized the neighboring towns would not be distributed into encomiendas.[52] Furthermore, opposition to this city was rising from various groups such as the conquistadors, encomenderos, and even Mexico City, who saw the city as a potential economic rival. *Licenciado* Juan Salmerón, the *oidor* in charge of the foundation of the city, realized he had to solve two considerable problems. Salmerón had to make Puebla de los Angeles attractive to settlers and

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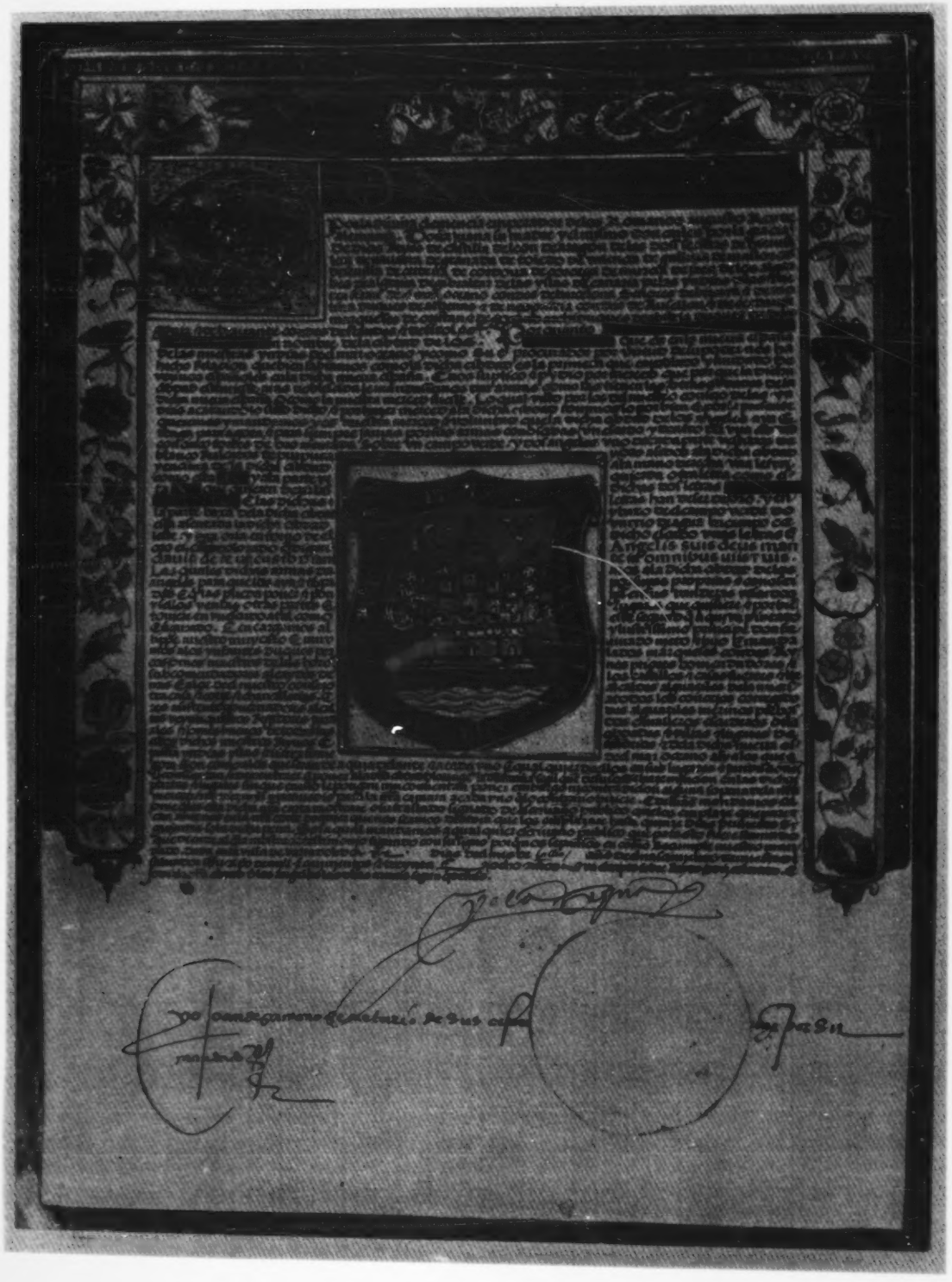
[51] Cédula Real, 1538. AAP. The actual name of the city is still debated by some historians. In the 1538 cédula real the title given to the city is Ciudad de los Angeles which is used in official documents up until the 18th century intermixed with other names such as *Noble y Leal Ciudad de los Angeles* (1558), *Muy Leal y Muy Noble Ciudad de los Angeles* (1576), *Puebla ciudad de los Angeles*, and of course *Ciudad de los Angeles* which obviously remained the most popular. The city's name was changed to *Puebla de Zaragoza* in 1862 after the general Ignacio Zaragoza who defended Puebla against the French invaders. See Enrique Cordero y Torres.*Historia compendiada del Estado de Puebla*. (Puebla: Publicaciones de Grupo Literario "Bohemia Poblana", 1965.), 14. and Miguel E.Sarmiento, *Puebla ante la historia la tradición y la leyenda*. (Puebla: no date), 21-27.

[52] Hirschberg."Social Experiment in New Spain", 4.

PLATE 1: Cedula Real of Puebla de los Angeles



Source: Photograph taken from the Library of Aldo Rivero Pastor

somehow stem the tide of growing opposition by winning crown favour. In doing so, Salmerón compromised many of the 'social experiment' ideals and re-structured the city so that it became attractive to wealthy encomenderos, merchants, traders, and artisans. Over a period of four years, Salmerón laboured hard to win special benefits for Puebla from the crown. Raising the rank from pueblo to ciudad not only secured Puebla's position within New Spain, but also allowed the city to double its *cabildo*.[53] Prestige being an extremely powerful tool in colonial New Spain, Salmerón also requested that the Audiencia reside in Puebla for half of each year and that the seat of the Tlaxcalan diocese be moved there permanently.[54] On the economic side were the requests for an encomienda for the city and that the temporary labour *ayuda* be extended from six to ten years.[55] Perhaps the greatest concession and proof that Puebla had a special connection to the crown was the exemption from the alcabala, or sales tax, for one hundred years and all other taxes for thirty years.[56] These remarkable incentives favoured foreign merchants, artisans and manufacturers who were attracted to Puebla because of the tax concessions which made the business of

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[53] The *cabildo* or municipal council consisted of members known as *regidores* or councilmen. Depending on the size of the town or city the number of *regidores* in a cabildo could range anywhere from four to fifteen.

[54] Hirschberg."Social Experiment in New Spain", 5.

[55] *Ibid.*, 5

[56] *Ibid.*, 5. and Thomson, 4.

trade and manufacturing quite lucrative. If that was not enough, Puebla was given jurisdiction over its surrounding territory and an increase in Indian labour. During the eighteenth century the city was chosen as the capital of the intendancy of Puebla and was given "freedom from interference in local government by Audiencia or corregidor."[57]

With these new advantages the incentive to settle in Puebla had increased dramatically. Each new 'poblano' was provided with a plot of land to farm and a labour force of forty to fifty Indian workers from Tlaxcala and Cholula. The growth of the city and its population increased rapidly, attracting many Spaniards from all sections of society so that by the eighteenth century Puebla's population fluctuated between 45,000 and 60,000 inhabitants, which equaled or surpassed most Spanish American capitals at that time.[58]

Benefiting from the combination of a propitious location (geographical and political) and advantageous support from the crown, Puebla de los Angeles flourished and soon challenged Mexico City as the major economic and political centre of New Spain.[59] At times during the seventeenth century

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[57] *Ibid.*, 8.

[58] Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (Eds.), *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America.* (Albuquerque, 1986.), 5.; Miguel Angel Cuenya, 10, 53-55. According to Fray Juan Villa Sánchez, in 1678 there was a population of 69,800 in the city of Puebla. Juan Villa Sánchez. *Puebla sagrada y profana. Informe dado a su muy ilustre ayuntamiento el año de 1746.* (Puebla: Letras de Puebla, 1962.) For a comprehensive quantitative study of the population of Puebla and the state see Carlos Welti Chanes. "Población y desarrollo en el siglo XIX en el estado de Puebla". in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*, 173-218.

it was even suggested that the capital be moved southeast to the more healthy, spacious, and beautiful city of Puebla.[60] Puebla soon distinguished itself as an inland trading center of agricultural goods and became Spanish America's leading center of manufacturing, specializing in cotton textiles which emerged half a century earlier than anywhere else in Spanish America.[61] Puebla also became the leader in wheat production and wool cloth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[62] As Diego Bermúdez de Castro stated in his eighteenth century chronicle of Puebla: "...driven by the good reputation [of their textiles] they came to buy from different places in the kingdom and as far as the distant province of Peru."[63]

European merchants and skilled artisans were attracted to Puebla for a number of reasons. Puebla was a successful trading centre located on the Camino Real, which provided access to markets in the interior of Mexico and to external

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[59] For Mexican-Puebla rivalry see Jonathen Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.); *Puebla en el virreinato,* 1. Puebla was praised as the 'second city of the Americas' after Mexico City.

[60] W. Michael Mathes. "To Save a City: the desagüe of Mexico Huehuetoca, 1607", *The Americas,* (Vol. 26, 1970.), 419-438.

[61] Thomson. 38.

[62] Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Juan Carlos Grosso. "La región de Puebla-Tlaxcala y la economía novohispana, 1680-1810". in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución,* 93. These products were in demand from New Spain to Peru.

[63] Quotation from Diego Bermúdez de Castro's, *Teatro Angelolitano.* 1725. Taken from Garavaglia and Grosso, 93. "...conducido de la buena fama [de sus ropas] venian a comprar de diferentes lugares de el reino y hasta de las provincias longiquas de el Perú."

markets through the port of Veracruz. The crown privileges granted to Puebla, including the exemption from the alcabala, were considerable incentives for merchants and artisans.[64] Many of these skilled individuals that settled in Puebla also brought with them their practical experience as well as the latest technological advances from Europe. For example, as early as 1539, the Spanish manufacturer Francisco de Peñafiel had established a textile factory in Puebla.[65] Peñafiel, where Francisco came from, was a small town situated near Segovia. The area where many of the settlers came from influenced the kind of work and skills the settlers brought with them to the New World. For instance, Segovia had the largest and most advanced textile industry in Spain.[66] Francisco de Peñafiel and other skilled settlers from Europe were responsible for the growth of Puebla's nascent manufacturing sector that developed and continued to grow well into the twentieth century. The influx of skilled foreigners resulted in the diversification of the manufacturing sector so that by the nineteenth century Puebla was noted for its soap, glass, porcelain and pottery, candles, shoes and other leather goods, hats, confectionery, and ironware.[67] In the first

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[64] Jan Bazant. "Evolución de la industria textil poblana, 1554-1845", *HMex*, (Vol. XIV, 1962.), 477.

[65] Hugo Leicht. *Las Calles de Puebla*. 5th Ed. (Puebla: Junta de mejoramiento Moral, Civico y Material Del Municipio de Puebla, 1992). pp. 276-279.

[66] Hugo Leicht, 276-279; Jan Bazant. "Evolución de la industria textil poblana", 477.

decade of the nineteenth century Puebla had a total of 1200 loom operators responsible for producing 1.5 million pesos worth of textile products or half of the production of New Spain.[68] Puebla also relied heavily on the production and export of flour. Between 1698 and 1852, Puebla maintained fourteen flour mills, a number unmatched by any other Spanish American city.[69]

Aesthetically, the city quickly began to reflect the new wealth and prosperity it had achieved through its burgeoning economic role within Spanish America. Adhering to a strict grid pattern, Puebla's developers followed a criterion which set out to harmonize beauty with a sense of order, centrality, symmetry, and uniformity.[70] In typical Spanish tradition, the city centered around the *zócalo* and cathedral. The centre was the heart of the city and all the large houses and public buildings were situated close to the zócalo. Large

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[67] Garavaglia and Grosso, 85-94.

[68] Alexander Von Humboldt. *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*. The John Black Translation. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.), 188. For a quantative analysis of the workers in the textile industry before Independence see the first section of Carmen Aguirre Anaya and Alberto Carabarin Gracia. "Formas artesanales y fabriles de los textiles de algódon en la ciudad de Puebla, siglos XVIII y XIX". in *CIHS, Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*, 125-41.

[69] Garavaglia and Grosso, 89, 101-123. Bermúdez de Castro recorded in 1794 that there were in fact 18 factories and mills in Puebla.; Thomson, 14.; C. Harvey Gardiner, (ed.). *Mexico, 1825-1828*. The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thornton Tayloe. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959.), 38.

[70] Carlos Contreras Cruz, *La ciudad de Puebla: estancamiento y modernidad de un perfil urbano en el siglo XIX*. (Puebla: CIHS, 1986.), 13. As early as 1648, Puebla was noted for its wealth and riches. Thomas Gage, *The English-American: A New Survey of the West Indies*, 1648. Edited by A.P. Newton. (Guatemala: El Patio, 1946.), 50-51.

blocks, broad streets and sidewalks intricately laid with stone were commonplace. As one early nineteenth century visitor to Puebla, W. Bullock proclaimed:

> The streets of the city are straight, broad, and cross each other at right angles, dividing the whole into squares of considerable size. They are paved with large stones, in a peculiar and highly ornamental manner, in a chequered or diamond-shaped pattern...rendering the whole compact, durable and handsome. They have broad foot-paths on each side which are kept remarkably clean.[71]

The influence the church had on the foundation of Puebla was also evident, as many churches, convents, and monasteries dotted the surrounding landscape. Famous for the ostentatious ornamentation of its religious buildings, Puebla received both praise and criticism by travelers who immediately noticed the presence of the Roman Catholic Church. Bullock remarked that "It is in the splendour of its churches, and other religious edifices, and in the richness of their endowments, that Puebla must take first rank in the Christian world ...it yields to no city in America or Europe." [72] Even Fanny Calderon De la Barca, who disliked Puebla, had to admit that "... the streets of Puebla are clean and regular, the houses large, the cathedral magnificent and the plaza spacious and handsome."[73] (see Plate 2)

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[71] W. Bullock, *Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico.* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1824.), 83-84.

[72] *Ibid.* 81. Bullock calculated that there were sixty churches, nine monasteries, thirteen nunneries and twenty-three colleges and that they were .."the most sumptuous I have ever seen.", 86.

[73] Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher (eds.). *Life in Mexico: The Letters of Fanny Calderon de la Barca.* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966.), 82. Letter dated December 24, 1839.

Puebla in the colonial period had many favourable qualities: a wealthy population of merchants, artisans and estate-owners; a thriving economy; crown favour and protection; a certain amount of autonomy; an ideal geographic and political location; and ample natural resources. The 'social experiment' envisioned by Fray Garcés failed in the sense that Puebla became a highly stratified elitist society and that the many privileges awarded the city were in direct contradiction to the original city plan. Nevertheless, Puebla flourished with the alterations and contributed to the economic growth of colonial Mexico. Despite its rapid ascent, Puebla's golden era (1650-1800) did not last. Events during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century literally shook the foundations of Puebla.

The difficulties and hardships that Puebla de los Angeles would experience during the next seven decades were unmatched in its two hundred and sixty nine year history. Economic stagnation, disease, and war exacted a heavy toll on its population. Falling wheat prices and increased competition within Mexico from cities such as Guadalajara and Mexico, compounded by external competition from the Caribbean and the United States, created an economic crisis for many poblanos who complained of low prices and labour shortages.[74] However, the economic crisis experienced by the poblanos paled in comparison to the asperity resulting from warfare and disease.

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[74] Thomson, 15.

PLATE 2: Illustration of Puebla in 1823 by W. Bullock

Source: W. Bullock. *Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico.* 1824. p.78.

For the most part, Puebla had a proportionately large European population and was a stronghold for conservatives and staunch crown loyalists. According to a census taken in 1777, 24% or 18,369 of the 71,366 inhabitants were of European origin.[75] The parish records of 1791, which were divided by racial composition, state that the Spaniards accounted for 35% of the population, which was more than any other racial group.[76] In contrast, ninety percent of the population in the region surrounding the city (including Cholula and Tecali) were Indian.[77] The Spaniards and mestizos made up only ten percent of the population in this area.[78] Many of the European merchants and manufacturers who benefited from the city's preferential treatment granted by the crown could not see the benefits of an independent Mexico. Especially since a large portion of this population controlled Puebla's economic and political institutions. This was one of the major reasons for Puebla being targeted, in the initial stages at least, as a strategic military objective for the supporters of Mexican Independence which began in 1810. The second and most significant reason for

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[75] *Ibid.*, 63.

European	18,369
Castizo	2,416
Mestizo	10,942
Negro	31
Mulatto	2,899
Indian	24,039
Other Castes	12,670

[76] *Ibid.*, 65.

[77] Miguel Angel Cuenya, 44.

[78] *Ibid.*, 44.

Puebla's constant bombardment and involvement in battle was its location. For the first time in its history being situated along the main route between Veracruz and Mexico City became a considerable disadvantage. Puebla became a defensive military outpost for the protection of Mexico City. Any external invading forces had no choice but to go through Puebla. Internally, armies and political factions also saw Puebla as an essential strategic point. Controlling the state of Puebla would put the insurgent army in a powerful position making Mexico City vulnerable to attack.[79]

Aware of the threat the independence movement had on the security of Puebla, the poblanos spent eight years from 1811 to 1819 blocking entrances to the city and building defensive structures to protect themselves. The trenches, parapets, and forts were constructed at an enormous cost and put the city of Puebla into debt.[80] However, despite the cost, the defensive structures saved Puebla from complete destruction on numerous occasions.[81] In a space of forty-six years from

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[79] LaFrance, 1.

[80] Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX: espacio, población y estructura productiva" in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*, 219-258.

[81] Carlos Contreras Cruz, *La ciudad de Puebla: estancamiento y modernidad*, 16. and for a detailed description of the battle of Puebla against the French see Tirso Rafael Cordoba, *El Sitio de Puebla*, (Puebla: Editorial Jose M. Cajica Jr., 1970). The numerous battles which took place in Puebla began in July 1821, when the city was defended by Nicolás Bravo and José Joaquín de Herrera; General Mariano Arista and Gabriel Duran defended the city in a battle which lasted seven days starting on 3 July 1824; Santa Anna sent troops and artillery to Puebla for a siege which lasted from June 1 to July 31, 1834; Santa Anna attacked Puebla again with a force of 13 000 men in 1845, three separate attacks occurred in 1856; The French invasion where the French were repelled on 5 May 1862 only to return victoriously on May 17, 1863; and

1821 to 1867, Puebla was attacked ten times, each inflicting considerable damage to the infrastructure and population. The French invasion in 1863 was particularly devastating to Puebla. The city blocks in the western portion of the city were completely destroyed along with numerous churches, public buildings, and private residences.[82] The consequence of these numerous encounters with insurgent and invading armies resulted in a collective sense of fear and insecurity. Added to this were the social casualties which usually accompany war. Refugees, homeless, vagabonds, and beggars began to fill the streets in increasing numbers as the years progressed. Looting, thievery and banditry soon reached such epidemic proportions that an encounter with bandits was expected when travelers and merchants reached the outskirts of Puebla.[83] Many economic and social problems the city council of Puebla had not yet encountered began to surface at an alarming rate, such as an empty treasury, large numbers of refugees, and a lack of cemetery space.[84]

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the battle, led by General Porfirio Díaz, which saw the triumph of the Republic over Maximillian's empire began on the 8th of March and ended on April 2, 1867. There were also a number of rural insurrections in the south in the 1840's and the district of Zacapoaxtla in the northern portion of the state in the late 1860' and early 1870's. Ana María Huerta J. "Un proyecto detrás de la revuelta social en Puebla, 1868-1873" in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*, 259-284. and *Insurrecciones rurales en el estado de Puebla*: 1868-1879. (Puebla: CIHS., 1985.).

[82] *Ibid.*, 17.

[83] Fanny Calderon de la Barca, 81.

No longer was Puebla characterized with glowing descriptions of cleanliness and beauty. The negative accounts of travelers who passed through Puebla at this time are indicative of the rapid decline and social problems it faced. In 1822, Joel Roberts Poinsett described Puebla as "...compactly and uniformly built. The houses are all made of stone; large and commodious; not one is to be seen that denotes the abode of poverty, yet we met more miserable squalid beings, clothed in rags, and exposing their deformities and diseases, to excite compassion, than I have seen elsewhere."[85] A few years later Henry Ward stated that Puebla .."contained a Lazzaroni population nearly as numerous as that of the capital; a naked and offensive race, whom you cannot approach without pollution, or even behold without disgust."[86] On the road to Puebla Fanny Calderon de la Barca's party was warned to go no further because "...[the Captain] seemed to think it extremely probable that we should be robbed...and recommended us to wait until the new escort should arrive".[87] Once in Puebla she described "the ruined look of the houses outside; and then the streets with nothing

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[84] Francisco Téllez Guerrero. "La organización administrativa del estado de Puebla, 1824-1910" in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribución al estudio de su historia*, 80.

[85] Joel Roberts Poinsett. *Notes on Mexico, Made in the Autumn of 1822. Accompanied by An Historical Sketch of the Revolution.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.), 40.

[86] Henry G. Ward, *Mexico*. Vol. 2. (London: Henry Colburn, 1829.), 74.

[87] Fanny Calderon de la Barca, 81.

but peasants and beggars afoot...The whole gives the idea of a total absence of comfort, so that, though Puebla may be a very good looking town of its kind, it did not please me."[88] The danger of banditry mentioned by Calderon de la Barca was still a concern in the 1860's as Jesús Monjarás claimed that "...whoever attempts to leave to the outskirts of Puebla without counting on an escort or some special protection , you can be sure that you will lose your money, your horse, your jacket, your shirt, your trousers and also with them your life."[89]

To make matters worse Puebla was hit with a series of debilitating epidemics which were responsible for a serious decline in the population. According to the population figures of 1746 there were 50,366 inhabitants. By 1803 the population had increased to 67,800 which suggests that there was an increase in the population at the turn of the century. The next available data is 1825, by which time the population figures dropped to 44,756 and continued to slide well into the 1830's, where the lowest population figures of that century of 40,000 were recorded.[90] (see Table 1)

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[88] *Ibid.*, 82.

[89] Quotation from Jesús Monjarás, *México en 1863, testimonios germanos sobre la intervención de dos anos en ese país.* taken from Carlos Contreras Cruz, "*La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX*", 223. "*...quién se atreva a salir a los arrededores de Puebla sin contar con una escolta o con alguna protección especial, puede estar seguro que perderá su dinero, su caballo, su chaqueta, su camisa, sus pantalones y con ellos también la vida.*"

[90] Carlos Contreras Cruz and Juan Carlos Grosso. "La estructura ocupacional y productiva de la ciudad de Puebla en el primera mitad del siglo XIX." in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribución al estudio de su historia*, 147. and Keith A. Davis, "Tendencias demográficas urbanas

TABLE 1: POPULATION OF THE CITY OF PUEBLA

1746	50 366
1793	57 168
1803	67 800
1825	44 756
1830	43 000
1835	40 000
1848	71 631
1856	70 000
1862	75 000
1862	78 400
1868	70 916
1869	60 000
1870	65 000
1876	65 000
1878	76 817
1887	72 743
1889	78 530
1895	88 674
1900	93 521
1910	96 121

Source: Carlos Contreras Cruz, *La ciudad de Puebla: estancamiento y modernidad de un perfil urbano en el siglo XIX.* (Puebla: CIHS, 1986.), p.34.; Carlos Contreras Cruz and Juan Carlos Grosso. "La estructura ocupacional y productiva de la ciudad de Puebla en el primera mitad del siglo XIX." in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribucion al estudio de su historia.* pp. 147. and Keith A. Davis, "Tendencias demográficas urbanas durante el siglo XIX en México" in *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. XXXI, (3:72)

What contributed to this precipitous decline was Puebla's first major epidemic of yellow fever in 1812-13. Contemporary accounts blame the presence of soldiers who came from hot tropical climates such as Veracruz.[91] Regardless of the cause, the outcome had a devastating effect on the population. The *Junta de Sanidad* or Board of Health calculated that in the

durante el siglo XIX en México" in *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. XXXI, (3:72). See Miguel Angel Cuenya, 9-72.

[91] Carlos Contreras Cruz, *La ciudad de Puebla*, 35.

space of one year 48,726 people were infected, of which 7,025 died.[92] The 1820's also proved to be a period of considerable mortality for the poblanos. A combination of war, malnutrition, and minor epidemics resulted in 10,046 deaths over a four year period between 1823 and 1827.[93] The second and third major epidemics occurred in 1833 and 1850 when cholera claimed an estimated 7,000 lives.[94] Besides the three main epidemics, there were regular reports of smallpox, measles, typhoid and scarlet fever affecting the population throughout the nineteenth century.

Lives claimed by the epidemics and war were not the only reason for the demographic decline of Puebla. Certainly, the atmosphere of continual warfare, sickness, and insecurity prompted many to leave the city. An independent Mexico also became hostile territory for many Spaniards who either were forced to leave under the act known as the Second Degree of Exclusion, or those who decided to leave on their own accord.[95]

Despite this difficult period, the textile industry for which Puebla was famous still managed to survive. Many

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[92] Miguel Angel Cuenya, 57.

[93] Carlos Contreras Cruz, *La ciudad de Puebla*, 37.; Miguel Angel Cuenya. 58. The statistics came from hospital records from various districts within Puebla.

[94] *Ibid.*, 37.

[95] Thomson, 209. In response to the threat of a reconquest of Mexico by Spain, the Second Degree of Exclusion was passed in August 1829 which expelled many Spaniards from Mexican soil. In Puebla, 216 Spaniards were forced to leave. Many of them were important clerics, merchants, bureaucrats, and military men.

wealthy entrepreneurs became aware of the benefits of technology in Europe and proceeded to mechanize their factories as early as the 1830's.[96] The first mechanized textile factory for spinning cotton was built in 1835. La Constancia Mexicana, was so successful that in six years it had expanded to include seven factories with 21,500 spindles and three modern workshops with powered looms.[97] By 1843 there were a total of eighteen cotton textile factories. Ten of those cotton spinning factories had been converted from flour mills. Between them, 31,994 spindles produced 23,231 kilograms of yarn a week valued at 24,062 pesos.[98] In 1864, twelve years before the Porfiriato began, Puebla's industrial capacity included sixteen cotton thread and fabric factories, thirteen blanket factories, thirty-five hat workshops, thirty-one tailoring shops, and five shawl factories. In comparison, the manufacturing districts of Jalisco had only five cotton factories, Queretaro (2), District and state of Mexico (6), and Veracruz (7).[99] Other important industries

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[96] Juan Carlos Grosso. *Estructura productiva y fuerza de trabajo. Puebla 1830-1890.*(Puebla: CIHS, 1984.), 9.; Jan Bazant. "Industria algodonera poblana de 1803-1843 en números", *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. XIV, 1964, 136.; Contreras Cruz and Juan Carlos Grosso. "La estructura ocupacional y productiva de la ciudad de Puebla en el primera mitad del siglo XIX." in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribucion al estudio de su historia*, 112.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 10. and Carmen Aguirre Anaya, "Capitales y textiles en la ciudad de Puebla. Nueve patrimonios durante el siglo XIX", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 161.; Jan Bazant. "Industria algodonera poblana de 1803-1843 en números", 140-141.

[98] Thomson, 246.

included the production of food products, beverages, tobacco, bakeries and *tocinerias.*[100] Puebla was also well known for its production of ceramics, windows, glass, metal products and rope, which were popular items within Mexico.

The Porfiriato proved to be a period of re-generation and modernization for Puebla. With civil strife ending in 1876 and a relative peace restored to the countryside, Puebla was able to devote money and time to restoring the city to its former glory. Numerous construction projects, public works, communication and modern transportation facilities were built to maintain the Porfirian ideal of progress and modernity.

Areas destroyed in battle were re-designed in an architectural style reflecting a new obsession with French culture.[101] Abandoned and decaying buildings and houses were restored and re-occupied as the population began to increase. Many new public buildings were constructed, including the Municipal palace, hospitals, colleges, and even a penitentiary.[102] These new structures, along with a building frenzy of private households, created an interesting blend of colonial architecture mixed with a distinctive French

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[99] Antonio García Cubas, *The Republic of Mexico in 1876: A Political and Ethnographical Division of the Population, Character, Habits, Costumes and Vocations of its Inhabitants.* Trans. by George F. Henderson. (México: "La Ensenanza" Printing Office, 1876.), 29.

[100] Carlos Grosso, 42.

[101] See Chapter V.

[102] Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 226.

influence.[103] A witness to the building craze in Puebla stated that,

> The rage for building houses has arrived to such a degree that it is rare to go through some street where you cannot find some property in construction. Until recently, you saw a great number of houses in ruins, due to the devastation of the battles that Puebla suffered, and nobody thought of reconstructing them, but now that the population has increased and that the government issued a decree that they would give large grants to those who build or rebuild their properties, it must be noted that there is a real desire for building.[104]

This intense building phase carried over to the construction of new railways, roads and telegraph stations.[105] Towards the end of the Porfiriato, Puebla was connected by rail to the cities of Mexico, Veracruz, and Oaxaca and most of the important towns located within the state such as Tehuacán, Atlixco and Cholula.[106] By the end of the Porfiriato there were one thousand kilometers of track and three railway lines

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[103] *Ibid.*, 226. The term used to describe the French influence is *afrancesado*.

[104] Quotation from *Boletín Municipal*, Puebla de Zaragoza, May 25, 1890. Taken from Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 226. "*Ha llegado a tal grado el furor por construir casas que es raro pasar por alguna calle donde ne se encuentre alguna finca en construcción. Hasta hace poco tiempo se veían gran número de casas en ruinas, debido a los estragos de los sitios que sufrío Puebla, y nadie pensaba en reconstruir, pero hoy que ha aumentado el censo y que el gobierno expidío un decreto hábil haciendo grandes concesiones á los que construyen o reedifican fincas, se nota que hay un verdadero afán por construir...*"

[105] Gloria Tirado Villegas,"La Compañía de Tranvías Luz y Fuerza de Puebla, S.A., 1880-1906", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 57-59.

[106] Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 226.

in the state, the *Ferrocarril Mexicano*, *Ferrocarril Interoceánico*, and the *Ferrocarril del Sur*. Travelers to Mexico City now had the luxury of four separate daily departures.[107] In the interior of the city there were railways that connected the factories and barrios to the interior of the city. The first line, called the *Ferrocarril Industrial*, passed by thirty factories and terminated in Cholula.[108] Pulled by 200 mules, it had 27 passenger coaches, and thirty platforms for cargo. The *Ferrocarril Urbano de Puebla* had forty-six passenger cars and six cargo platforms.[109] It was estimated in 1891-92 that the two lines had a monthly ridership of forty-six thousand passengers.[110] Shortly after 1900 Charles H. Cohen purchased the Ferrocarril Industrial and changed the name to The Puebla Tramway Light and Co. Ltd. The aim of this new company was to modernize the existing railway so that the trains would run on electricity instead of animal power.[111] In 1906, Charles H. Cohen, with the help of Wernher Beit and Otto Beit, acquired the Ferrocarril Urbano de Puebla and joined the two lines. Typical of the Porfirian period, ownership of the railway companies transferred from the Mexican entrepreneurs who originally

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[107] *Ibid.*, 226-7.

[108] Gloria Tirado Villegas, 60-1. First class fares to Cholula cost 25 cents; second class fares cost 15 cents.

[109] Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 227.

[110] *Ibid.*, 227.

[111] Gloria Tirado Villegas, 62.

constructed them to the wealthy foreigner who wished to exploit them.

With the development of the transportation system, poblanos could communicate with and travel to the major centres of Mexico swiftly and with considerable ease and comfort. It also enabled poblano workers to gain easier access to employment in distant areas such as the factory zone and haciendas located on the outskirts of the city.

In 1907 the municipal administration, under the guidance of the municipal president Francisco de Velasco, took measures to improve Puebla's public services and infrastructure. Educated in Europe, Velasco came up with a positivist four point plan to transform the city.[112] The four points can be broken down into three major categories: beautifying the city ; health, hygiene and safety; and modernization. In 1912, Velasco proudly listed his accomplishments, which included the completion of the,

> ...sewer works, waterworks [potable water] and paving, started the market; also finished the garden paths and parks...fireman's building, causeways to the factory zone, to the park of Guadalupe and the Forest of the Malintzi, and those of Cholula and San Martin; upgraded the streetcars, electrical installations, and decorated lamp posts within the central zone. Projects under construction include: the Park of Guadelupe and Loreto, the theatre-salon, the extension of the Municipal Palace and I have signed the minutes for the public incandescent lights and candelabras.[113]

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[112] Francisco de Velasco, *Puebla y su transformación. Mis proyectos y mi gestión al manejo en Ayuntamiento de Puebla de 1907 a 1910.* (Puebla: Imprenta El Escritorio, 1912.)

[113] *Ibid.*, 88-89. , *...las obras de alcantarillado, aguas y pavimentación, comenzadas las del mercado; terminadas también las de paseos y jardines ...edificio de bomberos, calzadas a las fabricás, al*

Sanitation, road paving, and waterworks proved to be the most costly, amounting to 87.83% of the total cost of 8,140,000 pesos.[114] Despite the exorbitant cost, Velasco's plan was the most extensive, inexpensive and expeditious city refurbishment program when compared to Mexico City, Guadalajara, Veracruz and Monterrey.[115] Puebla's facelift proved to be very popular among travelers who remarked on the beauty, grandeur, and modern amenities of Puebla.[116] William Henry Bishop, after his visit to Puebla, remarked that "Many prosperous *fábricas* (factories) are seen along the fertile valley of approach...Puebla is very clean, well paved, and well drained."[117] Yet despite the remarkable transformation,

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parque de Guadalupe y Bosque de la Malintzi, los de Cholula y San Martín; las reformas de tranviás, de instalaciones eléctricas, y del alumbrado en postes ornamentales, dentro de la zona central. En proyecto: el Parque de Guadelupe y Loreto, el teatro-salón, la ampliación del Palacio Municipal y firmada la minuta del alumbrado público incandescente y en candelabros"

[114] The municipal expenditures increased dramatically during the Porfirian period even before the arrival of Francisco de Velasco. The average yearly expenditures of 30,723 pesos for the period 1819-1842 jumped close to a million pesos for the years between 1884-90. AGN. *Gobernacion, Impresos oficiales de Puebla*, 1881 and 1890.; Francisco Tellez Guerrero and Elvia Brito Martínez. "Las finanzas municipales. Ciudad de Puebla, 1820-1890", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 44.; Carlos Contreras Cruz and Columba Salazar Ibargüen. "Francisco de Velasco y la transformación de la ciudad de Puebla, 1906-1910", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 84.

[115] Carlos Contreras Cruz and Columba Salazar Ibargüen. "Francisco de Velasco y la transformación de la ciudad de Puebla, 1906-1910", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 86.

[116] E.H. Blichfeldt, *A Mexican Journey*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1912.), 176.; Percy F. Martin *Mexico of the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 2. (London: Edward Arnold, 1907.), 99-100.

[117] William Henry Bishop, *Old Mexico and Her Lost Provinces*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883.), 210.

those hit hardest by the staggering cost of Velasco's plan were the lower orders of society. To pay for the "improvements", taxes were increased for transportation, liquor, cantinas and *pulquerías* - activities usually associated with the lower strata of society.[118]

Another result of the paved roads, street lights, and drainage system was the substantial increase in property values and rents. In 1848 there were 3,066 houses with an estimated value of 9,322,681 pesos. This increased to 11,160,251 pesos in 1883 and 12,458,670 pesos in 1907. After Velasco's rebuilding projects the value of Puebla's urban property doubled in three years to 25 million pesos.[119] Even with the inflation of the 1890's, the rise in property values and the subsequent rise in rents did not benefit anyone but the upper strata of Puebla who either owned extensive property within the city or could afford the excessive price of an ideally located property close to the center of the city.

Velasco's plan to transform Puebla into a beautiful and modern city was an extraordinary and undeniable success. However, Velasco and his modernizing process were products of the idealistic Porfirian, positivist, vision of progress. The modern Puebla was for the upper class to luxuriate in and for

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[118] Carlos Contreras Cruz and Columba Salazar Ibargüen."Francisco de Velasco y la transformación de la ciudad de Puebla, 1906-1910", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 83.

[119] *Ibid.*, 88.

foreign visitors and potential investors to marvel at. The beautiful new buildings and parks modeled after Paris were not intended for the majority of the poblanos.

The building phase which swept over Puebla was also the result of a rapidly expanding population. While the population figures had increased throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, it was only during the last three decades of the Porfiriato that there was sustained demographic growth. Puebla's population increased from 72,743 in 1888 to 96,121 in 1910. An increase of 23,378 inhabitants over twenty-two years. The most noticeable period of demographic growth began in 1884 and lasted until 1900 where Puebla's population increase averaged 1.4% a year.[120] This growth rate was unmatched by any other rapidly expanding cities at the time, including Veracruz (1.0%), Mexico City (0.9%), and Merida (0.6%).[121] The sector which experienced the greatest demographic growth occurred in the factory zone located along the Atoyac river in the western outskirts of the city. Many poblanos who could not afford the excessive rents of urban Puebla or labourers from surrounding towns were attracted to this area because of the employment opportunities and cheaper housing.[122]

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[120] Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 236.

[121] *Ibid.*, 236.

[122] *Ibid.*, 237.

During the Porfirian period, industry remained the number one economic activity that sustained Puebla. While the economy improved during these years, this did not occur as a result of increased foreign investment into Puebla's industrial and manufacturing sectors. Puebla already modernized and improved its industrial factories by the mid 1830's.[123] What the economy and the poblanos needed was an atmosphere of stability and peace to grow in. The Pax Porfiriana provided Puebla with a much needed respite from years of continual conflict. Many relieved poblanos may have shared the same sentiment as a writer for the New York Herald who wrote in 1876: "Our advices from Mexico are somewhat startling in nature, for they indicate the government had not changed hands for nearly six weeks."[124]

The textile industry in 1906 accounted for 51.7% of the total value of production and employed 46% of Puebla's work force.[125] The size and productive output of the textile factories varied considerably. The smallest factory, La Paz,

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[123] According to María del Pilar Pacheco Zamudio, one of the problems confronting the Mexican elite during the Porfirian period was the process of industrializing and modernizing Mexico. Puebla had the advantage of modernizing its factories 40 years before anyone else. María del Pilar Pacheco Zamudio. "Un empresario porfirista del centro del país. El caso de Iñigo Noriega Lasso, 1897-1899." in *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 129.

[124] *The New York Herald*, December 22, 1876. Cited in William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.)

[125] Carlos Contreras Cruz, "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 242. By 1910, the state of Puebla was the fifth most important state in overall production accounting for 8 percent of the total production. David G. LaFrance. "Madero y Maderismo en Puebla." in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*, 328.

employed thirty-six workers with an annual production worth 162,000 pesos. On the other end of the scale was the Covadonga factory, which employed three hundred and sixty workers, had an annual production worth 1,116,416 pesos.[126] Only three factories employed more than three hundred workers. Combined, these three factories employed 49% of the total work force in textiles. The production of food and beverages followed as the second most important industry employing 17% and valued at 28% of the total annual production.[127] Included in this group were factories producing cigars, mills that produced flour, and bakeries. The production of goods made with leather came in a distant third employing 10.7% of the workforce and producing goods worth 7.4% of Puebla's annual production.[128]

Clearly, industry was essential to the success of Puebla, as it had been since its foundation. The influence of the Porfiriato on the economy of Puebla was not as marked as it was in other areas of Mexico because industrialization had already been such an integral part of Puebla's development for four centuries. The reliance on industry, production of goods and use of technologies from Europe had its genesis forty years before the Porfiriato began. The new

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[126] *Ibid.*, 253. See Cuadro 7.

[127] *Ibid.*, 253.

[128] *Ibid.*, 247. Puebla was also the trading centre of Onyx since Puebla had rich deposits of this marble-like mineral. Heinrich Von Lemcke. *Mexico: das Land und seine Leute. Ein Führer und geographisches Handbuch.* (Berlin: Alfred Schall, 1900.), 95.

transportation system contributed to the growth of Puebla's industry in terms of the amount of goods that could be transported at one time and the overall convenience of the railway.[129] The greatest benefit the Porfirian period had on Puebla was that it gave time for the infrastructure and industrial economy to recuperate and expand without the constant threat and instability of the first seven decades of the nineteenth century.

The geographical setting, natural abundance, foundation, industrial heritage and historical development all combined to make the city of Puebla unique within Mexico. These factors also played a significant role in determining the social and economic development of the poblano elites who will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. The circumstances which surrounded the foundation of Puebla created a sense among its inhabitants that it was 'blessed' and better than other Mexican cities.[130] To a peninsular or European living in Puebla during the colonial period, they were probably right. With a proportionately high European content, special privileges from the crown and a city which was architecturally European, Puebla was much more attractive

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[129] Blanca Esthela Santibáñez Tijerina. "Aproximación al estudio de los empresarios textiles de la región Puebla-Tlaxcala, 1888-1920.", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 144.

[130] The legend which surrounds the foundation of Puebla states that the cathedral was built with the help of two angels - which gives the impression that Puebla was founded with the help of divine intervention. Puebla's colonial name, 'the city of angels' also reflected this sense of divine preference.

to European settlers than many other Mexican cities. Not having to rely on extra-regional support for subsistence goods also fostered a sense of self-sufficiency and autonomy. This created a rather insular and private society which tended to focus on events that occurred within its own region, and to its inspiration - Europe. Since its foundation, this dual-perspective caused considerable resentment among other Mexican cities who labeled Puebla and its inhabitants as elitist, snobbish, and exclusive.[131]

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[131] Blichfeldt, 177.

Chapter III

The Elite

The various factors which combined to make Puebla unique within Mexico also contributed to the evolution and distinct social and economic behavioural patterns exhibited by the elite in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Yet, before it is possible to examine the socio-economic behaviour of the poblano upper class, it is essential to define 'elite' in the context of what is being studied. Despite the tendency for theorists and historians to generalize about elite socio-economic activity and lifestyle, some theoretical constructs will be applied to sharpen the 'regional' definition used throughout this study.

During the Porfiriato, numerous theories attempting to describe the social stratification of Mexico were developed. The method used by these intellectuals and historians did not follow a uniform model and, for the most part, represented a considerable racial bias. Even the criteria used by the upper class intellectuals to describe Mexico's social structure reflected various influences: from religious thinkers who believed that all Mexicans, good or evil, were equal; to those who distinguished the classes by the type of food they

ate, the clothes they wore, their sexual behaviour, and racial composition.[132]

Breaking down Mexico's social structure into three or even four distinct classes was common among Mexican theorists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This in contrast to the common generalization that Mexican, or even Latin American society, was composed of two classes - the elite and the masses.[133] It is obvious that the nineteenth century Mexican social class theories were guilty of many historical inaccuracies, blatant racial bias, suspect research, and skewed methodology. Yet, the importance of these works is not in the way they have categorized Mexico's social structure but is reflected in their belief that Mexico was much more complex than a simple two-tiered society.[134]

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[132] Moisés González Navarro. *El Porfiriato: La Vida Social. Vol. 4 of Historia moderna de México*, edited by Daniel Cosío Villegas, (México: Editorial Hermes, 1955-70.), 383-384. See note 24.

[133] Works which make sweeping generalized statements about the elite in Latin America and Mexico include: Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari.(eds.) *Elites in Latin America*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967.); E. Bradford Burns and Thomas E. Skidmore. *Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.); Paul W. Drake."The Political Responses of the Chilean Upper Class to the Great Depression and the Threat of Socialism" in Frederic Cople Jaher (ed.). *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.), 304-337. E. Bradford Burns. "Cultures in Conflict: The Implication of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Latin America" in E. Bradford Burns and Thomas E. Skidmore (eds.) *Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.), 11-78.

[134] Francisco Bulnes (three classes based on eating habits), José Iturriaga (popular, middle and upper class), Julio Guerrero four classes based on sexual activity, polygamous upper class. See Gonzalez Navarro. Chapter entitled *La Pirámide Humana*, 383-399.

While it is the purpose of this study to discuss and analyze the elite, the other social strata will be examined so that the erroneous generalizations inherent in the 'two-class' theory can be dispelled, at least within the urban confines of Puebla. As well as illustrating the complexity and diverse nature of Puebla's social structure, including the other social classes will also provide greater insight into poblano society.

The system of identifying the various social classes within Puebla will be based on wealth, prestige, status, race, honour, political influence, and property. A Porfirian intellectual, Justo Sierra, stated that within Mexico there were no closed classes.[135] This statement, which contradicts the views of many historians of Mexico, was true of Puebla. The social structure of the city of Puebla will be separated into four separate classes: the elite; the middle class; the lower middle class; and the lower class.[136]

Because of the frequency with which 'elite' is used, not only in history but by many other disciplines, this concept has become elusive and vague.[137] Consequently, defining 'elite' can be almost as difficult as identifying the elites themselves. A brief discussion of elite theory

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[135] *Ibid.*, 387.

[136] The idea of separating Puebla's social strata into four classes comes from Guy Thomson's work. p. 73.

[137] Peter H. Smith. *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in 20th Century Mexico.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.), 17.

will provide the theoretical background for the definition that will be used throughout this study.

Every social group contributes to the evolution and growth of society. Yet, the process is an unequal one with a small section of a privileged few predominating over the other majority of social groups.[138] Despite their small representation in the population, certain societal provisions in each society allow for some groups to supersede others because of race, status, right of birth, sex, superstition, wealth, or merit. These people who occupy the upper social strata tend to have the extraordinary ability to control and dominate their surroundings.

The importance of these higher ranking individuals and the effects they have on society was discussed as early as the fourth century B.C. in ancient Greece. Aristotle wrote in his work *Politics* about a group of individuals called the *hoi gnorimoi*.[139] Aristotle made a distinction between certain men of status and power, and the masses. Similar to contemporary definitions of elite behaviour, the hoi gnorimoi's elevated position in Greek society was a result of noble birth, wealth, and education.[140] More important, however, was Aristotle's postulation that the prerequisite

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[138] Flavia Derossi. *The Mexican Entrepreneur.* (Paris: OECD Publications, 1971.), 11.

[139] Robin Seager. "Elitism and Democracy in Classical Athens" in Frederic Cople Jaher (ed.) *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.), 7.

[140] *Ibid.*, 7.

for a minority to rise and predominate over the masses was wealth.[141] This perceptive analysis of the importance of wealth and its relation to power is particularly relevant to nineteenth century Puebla, since wealth sustained the poblano elites position within society.

It was not until the nineteenth century that the term 'elite' was used in the context familiar today.[142] Gaetano Mosca, a nineteenth century 'elite' theorist, believed that every society, whether it was underdeveloped or advanced and powerful, would always contain two classes of people, "a class that rules and a class that is ruled".[143] The first class, he surmised, was composed of a small minority which commanded all the political and economic functions of society. The power which resulted from this monopoly was used for their own advantage and to solidify their position at the top. The more numerous majority "...is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is no more or less legal, no more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism."[144] Vilfredo

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[141] *Ibid.*, 7.

[142] According to Seymour Lipset, the term 'elite' was used to describe the best quality merchandise a shopkeeper had in the 17th century. The meaning expanded to describe "the elite of the nobles" by the latter portion of the 17th century. See introduction.

[143] Smith, 5.

[144] *Ibid.*, 5.

Pareto, another nineteenth century 'elite' theorist, was the first to use 'elite' as a label to describe the upper social strata. Like Mosca, he also believed that regardless of the political system, most societies have a bimodal and unequal distribution of power. According to his model, power and the access to it, would always be in the hands of the privileged ruling class.[145]

While there do seem to be some ubiquitous truths inherent in the theories propounded by the nineteenth century theorists Mosca and Pareto, they still do not satisfactorily identify the particular needs or values of specific elite groups. Nor do they address specific concerns about variation in elite behaviour across temporal, geographical, or cultural space.

This study of the elites in Puebla will draw upon some theoretical aspects of elite theory, but only at its most basic form, namely the concept of power. Power, whether it is manifested in the form of wealth, politics, race, or heredity is distributed unequally. As a result, only a small number of individuals ever have a chance to possess it - these we can identify as an elite.

The fundamental problem associated with the concept of the 'elite', as discussed above, is the common rationalization that because they are in positions of 'power' they are a homogeneous group. What these theories neglect to mention is that the individuals who possess the keys to power

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[145] *Ibid.*, 5.

differ from nation to nation, from region to region, and city to city. Within every elite group there tends to be a rigid hierarchical system where some members invariably control the movements of others, resulting at times in serious division and partisan behaviour.[146] The term elite then, if it is to have any usefulness for the study of Puebla, must be defined in the context of what is being studied.

The regional studies of elites in Mexico have successfully demonstrated that even within the same country the ruling class were by no means a homogeneous group.[147] That is not to say the poblano elites did not have similar characteristics that were shared by the upper echelons of society scattered throughout Mexico. Rather, despite the similarities, the elite of Puebla also embodied certain ideological and behavioural differences of a regional nature which enabled them to define themselves and to be defined by the rest of Mexico as poblanos.

The Spanish heritage that Mexico was forced to adopt played a significant role in how the elites behaved and envisioned their role in society. The rigid hierarchical system of New Spain not only defined one's position in society by social status but also by race. Race was an

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[146] E. Bradford Burns and Thomas E. Skidmore (eds.) *Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930.*, 6.

[147] See Mark Wasserman. *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution: The Native Elites and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, Mexico. 1854-1911.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984.); Alex Saragoza, *The Monterrey Elite and the Mexican State, 1880-1940.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988.).

extremely important principle of social organization that made the urban social structure extremely inflexible and difficult to break through.[148] Colonial Puebla was dominated by a peninsular and Creole elite which was comprised of members of the nobility, Crown and ecclesiastical officials, encomenderos, professionals, and merchants. Their status in Mexico was ensured by the Spanish institutions carried over from Spain and transplanted onto Mexico as early as 1521. Privileges were given as a result of birthright or peninsular heritage that were denied the rest of the population. Such privileges included the exclusion of non-whites from positions of power and noble status. These strict racial constrictions were alleviated somewhat during the latter portion of the colonial period into the nineteenth century because wealth began to command the same weight as status and race. The importance wealth had on elite status is reflected in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century trend which saw a number of recent foreign settlers becoming members of the poblano elite because of their success as industrialists and manufacturers.[149] Their wealth was also attractive to the traditional elite families, as a number of contractual marriages were made between the two groups.

Toward the end of the colonial period and up until the first decade of the twentieth century, any foreigner from Europe or the United States who immigrated to Puebla had a

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[148] Thomson, 61.

[149] See Chapter IV

much greater chance of upward social mobility than native born Mexicans. Bred into the Mexican psyche was the perception that the *peninsular* or the 'white foreigner' was in every way superior to the Mexican. This is commonly referred to as "*la Malinche*", a form of national inferiority complex. La Malinche was the name used to describe the Indian maiden Malintzin who was considered a traitor for helping and becoming romantically involved with Cortés during the conquest. The legacy of la Malinche's 'betrayal' is now used to describe the ideological undercurrent which afflicts Mexico even today, that is, the belief that anything foreign is better than anything Mexican. The significance of la malinche played a considerable role in the period covered by this study for it is partly responsible for allowing foreign immigrants to quickly scale the ladder to elite status and why the Porfirian elite so easily adopted foreign ideals. Regardless of the period, colonial, independence, or Porfirian, being a white foreigner in Puebla gave one certain advantages not available to native born Mexicans. The ability to rise above your social station and into the lofty reaches of the elite class was a rare feat usually achieved only by foreigners or their sons. Rare are the cases of a mestizo rising above his station and becoming a prominent Mexican citizen.[150] The importance of race determining one's position

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[150] There are of course exceptions to this rule, the most notable being Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz.

in society cannot be understated and is a good indicator of who occupied the upper reaches of Puebla's elite class.

Related to racial composition was social status. While the importance of nobility dwindled toward the end of the colonial period and was all but abolished during Independence, societal deference and respect was still paid to those families with a prestigious background.[151] This perhaps distinguishes Mexico from countries in Northern Europe and America during the nineteenth century. Attaining and maintaining elite status was much more important than capital gain. The ability to amass a large fortune was secondary to gaining status, even though it was usually achieved from accumulated wealth. During the colonial period, the ultimate manifestation of elite status was to become an owner of a large landed estate or hacendado.[152] For instance, it was not uncommon for a merchant to leave his lucrative business and his source of wealth to become an hacendado.

While becoming an owner of an hacienda or rancho was the ultimate symbol of elite status, the privileged poblanos gained similar prestige from their involvement in the mercantile, manufacturing and industrial professions. These elite manufacturers and industrialists diversified their portfolios and engaged in various economic endeavours such as flour mills, bakeries, and textile factories. Despite this

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[151] Thomson, 61.

[152] The importance of large estates goes back to when they awarded encomiendas to important members of early colonial society such as the conquistadors.

regional variation on what constituted acceptable elite economic behaviour, the upper class would invariably solidify their status by acquiring an hacienda or rancho.

If there is any underlying factor which acted as a prerequisite to becoming a member of the elite in Puebla, it was wealth.[153] Even though money was secondary to status, it was difficult to achieve the latter without copious quantities of the former. Wealth allowed those poblanos born in the upper social strata to maintain their position and, conversely, allowed those aspiring to join those higher ranks to acquire it. Wealth occupied an interesting position in the value system among the poblano elites because it was a very central and necessary means to maintaining and achieving elite status. Without access to capital, one's position in urban society tended to fall quite quickly. The importance the poblanos placed on wealth is distinctive in comparison to other Mexican elites, and was responsible for the relative fluidity of the social structure when compared to areas in Mexico where large estates and agriculture predominated.[154]

Those poblanos who occupied the upper class usually received a majority of their wealth and status through inheritance. Of course, this only accounted for a sum of capital which could easily be exhausted, so the poblanos were compelled to engage in some economic activity to support

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[153] Thomson, 62.

[154] Racial implications still applied; however, those who took advantage were more likely to be peninsulars and other European foreigners. See Thomson, 62.

their lifestyle. Poblano elites were usually involved in industrial and agriculture pursuits. The most successful elite family would own many different factories producing various products and at the same time own an estate which produced agricultural products.[155]

Politics was, not surprisingly, another area dominated by the poblano elite. Many historians, when studying elites, tend to separate the 'elite' into categories on the basis of political or economic activity. It would be difficult to make a similar distinction in the case of Puebla considering both areas were usually dominated by the same elite families. Success in either politics or economics was usually a prerequisite for impending success in the other. Perhaps the only distinction that can be made is that involvement in both carried significant prestige and allowed such an individual and family to move up the hierarchical ladder within the elite ranks. A number of politicians in Puebla already came from elite backgrounds and were chosen because it was believed that they would be able to maintain elite interests. The same process was true during the Porfiriato, except that the Governor or municipal president served Porfirio Díaz and the Porfirian ideal first, and local interests second. For the elite this did not cause much concern since the Porfirian ideal was suited to the aspirations of the elite anyway.[156]

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[155] See Chapter IV. Especially the case of Patricio Furlong. p. 80.

[156] For a short and informative essay on the influence Porfirio Díaz had on the politics in Puebla see Osvaldo Tomaín's, "Puebla y las

The predominant values of the poblano elite were connected to the maintenance of family status and prestige. Social, economic, and political activity revolved around the extended family network or what has been described as the three-generation extended grandfamily.[157] With the patriarch firmly established at its head, the grandfamily could be described as the basic unit of cohesiveness for the upper class in Mexico. It was also the most reliable support network an individual could consistently rely upon.[158] Since the function provided by the family network was so important to an individual, familial obligations played a significant role in elite lifestyle, behaviour, and value systems.

Family particularism was common among elite families because of the need to maintain family solidarity, status, and prestige. Elite families with business interests were more inclined to hire family members for managerial positions than a more experienced and trained outsider. While a trained professional could improve business, make it more efficient and profitable, the owner would rather sacrifice economic gain than let a stranger move in on a position to which a family member was entitled.[159] This practice of hiring members

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elecciones de 1880. Poder y política". in *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 243-267.

[157] Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Marisol Perez-Litaur. *A Mexican Elite Family, 1820-1980: Kinship, Class, and Culture*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.), 5-7.

[158] *Ibid.*, 7.

[159] The examples cited in Chapter IV demonstrate the involvement of various family members in business. Even cousins were given important positions, as in the case of Ciriaco Marrón y Carballo who was put in

in the family network for managerial jobs, usually described as *hombres de confianza*, was also based on the assumption that he was expected to serve family interests first.[160] In many ways it was also an opportunity for younger members of the grandfamily to prove their personal worth and enhance their own status.

Maintaining the family's wealth and status was also achieved through creating a network of family members who had positions of authority in the military, political, and ecclesiastical spheres. This had the effect of 'securing your interests', and created a considerable advantage for the families economic expansion and during periods of financial hardship. Each elite family unit was a microcosm of the larger elite structure in Puebla during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Ideological currents from Europe and the United States had an immeasurable effect on the economic and social behaviour of the poblano elite. Before Independence, many of the elites looked to Spain for inspiration and modeled their behaviour after the upper class and the old Spanish institutions held sacred there. The nineteenth century, after Independence, saw new elites emerge because of positions left vacant by disgruntled Spaniards and Spanish sympathizers.

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charge of the largest textile factory in the state of Puebla, the El Patriotismo Mexicano. This factory was owned by his cousins, the Velasco's. p. 94.

[160] Seymour Martin Lipset. "Values and Education, and Entrepreneurship" in Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari. (eds.) *Elites in Latin America*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967.), 13.

Very little change occurred as a result of this exodus for the simple reason that the elite wanted to preserve their privileged position in society. The wars for Independence in Mexico could have created serious hardships for the poblano elite who stayed behind. Yet, since their industrialist mentality and economic livelihood was not based on the typical tradition of landed-estates common to many other regions in Mexico, they were able to adapt to a Mexico without Spain. The difficult period Puebla experienced in the interim between Independence and the Porfiriato created an atmosphere that was not conducive for significant behavioural and attitudinal change among the elites. This all changed towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A relatively peaceful period descended on the city of Puebla thanks to the Pax Porfiriana, a time when the elites became enamored with the enlightenment and three major European philosophies: Comtean Positivism, Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer's theories on natural and social evolution.[161] All three philosophies had as central tenets the idea of 'progress'. Each theory implied that progress came as a result of the will to modernize and adapt to the capitalist system. The poblano elites, led by Francisco de Velasco, responded to this call for progress and actively supported and involved themselves directly in the modernization process. Because the elite and middle class of Puebla were

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[161] Burns. "Cultures in Conflict: The Implication of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Latin America", 15.

made up of merchants, entrepreneurs, and industrialists, they embraced these changes believing that further success and enrichment could be achieved through the policies advocated by Díaz.

The effect Porfirian modernization had on Puebla not only resulted in political and moderate economic change but also in a shift in elite behaviour. The Porfirian elites began to adopt the cultural and social attitudes and behaviours of their counterparts in Europe and the United States. Particularly those in France, where anything *en vogue* was enthusiastically embraced by the elite in Mexico.

In summary, the elite in Puebla occupied positions of power over the rest of society. Through wealth and status, the poblano elite were able to control the economic, political and social institutions of Puebla throughout the period of this study. As will become evident in the following chapters, wealthy merchants and industrialists were a prominent force within the elite and it was not uncommon to see them dominate these institutions of power.(see Table 2)

The middle-class also played a considerable role in the growth of Puebla. Again the merchants and small-time industrialists dominated the middle class, occupying positions as managers and owner-managers of obrajes, tocinerías, bakeries and flour mills in the early nineteenth century and textiles, cotton weaving and spinning, beverages, cigar production during the Porfiriato. The difference between the merchants of the elite and the middle

Table 2: **DAILY WAGES IN PUEBLA IN 1823** (in reales/day)

Male Occupations		Female Occupations	
THE ELITE			
3 Merchants	avg. 45		
THE MIDDLE CLASS			
2 Tocineros	16		
Master Chandler	16		
Master Hatmaker	28.5		
Master Potter	16		
3 Master glassmakers	32		
	avg. 21.7		
THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS			
Doctor	4	Keeper of bread shop	4
Shopkeeper	8	Small shopkeeper	2.5
Cashier in Tocineria	2-3	Confectioner	4
Cashier in Chandler Shop	6		
4 apprentices in Chandler Shop	3-4		avg. 3.5
Confectioner	6		
Majordomo of bakery	3		
Chocolate maker	8		
Chandler	3		
Refreshment stall-keeper	2.5		
Master cotton-weavers	2.3		
Master Calico printer	3		
Keeper of hat shop	4		
22 hatmakers	2.5-3.5		
2 tailors	3 & 8		
Scuplter	4		
Carpenter and coppersmith	4		
Mulateer and blacksmith	3		
	avg. 4.2		
THE LOWER CLASS			
Keeper of bread stall	1	Chocolate maker	1
6 journeymen in Tocineria	2	Atolera	0.5
4 journeymen in chandler's shop	2	Tortillera	0.5
Domestic servant	1	Ribbon weaver	1
Biscuit maker	1	Cotton spinner	0.5-1
4 cotton weavers	1	Buttonhole maker	2
3 cotton spinners	0.5	Seamstress	0.5-1
Calico printer	1	Washerwoman	0.5
Hatmaker	1		avg. 0.88
2 servants in hat factory	0.5		
Tailor	1		
10 potters and 1 bricklayer	0.5-1		
Singer	1		
Shoemaker	1		
2 carpenters	1.5		
3 Cooper, blacksmith, tin beater	1		
Mulateer	2		
Carrier	1		
10 Glassmaker	2		
2 farm labourers	0.5-1		
Coachman	2		
	avg. 1.2		

Source: Thompson. p. 83.

class was the scale of the operation. The less affluent owner-managers could usually maintain only one factory. Capital generated from a single business was usually not sufficient to enable the owner-manager to diversify his portfolio.[162]

Of course, the middle class was not comprised solely of merchants or managers, for small rural estate holders, shopkeepers, professionals, municipal officials and the middle and lower ranked clergy qualified for middle class status.[163] Puebla as early as the sixteenth century was not only recognized for its textiles, tocinerías, and flour production but also for its skilled industries. Such crafts included "decorated silk shawlmaking, ironwork (locks, stirrups, spurs, etc.) copper-work (bells-cauldrons, etc.), leather (decorated saddlery and bridlery), decorated felt hats, passamanery, *majólica* and *talavera* pottery and glassmaking."[164] Families who were particularly successful at the skilled trades would be considered middle class. Employing more workers, producing more goods, and spending more capital distinguished these successful artisans from their associates who toiled in the lower social strata.[165]

At this level the middle class merchant's business was indeed a family affair, with members usually directly

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[162] Thomson, 84-86.

[163] *Ibid.*, 82

[164] *Ibid.*, 88.

[165] *Ibid.*, 88

involved in running the business. It has been estimated that a middle class family possessed estates valued between two thousand and forty thousand pesos, averaging two to four *pesos* a day.[166] If managed correctly this would allow for a fairly decent lifestyle.

There is no distinctive delineation that separates the lower middle class from the middle class, for there was more social mobility between these two classes than any other. Occupationally, many worked in similar trades but on much smaller scales. This was the small shopkeeper and artisan class which can best be described as the struggling and powerless minority. These hard-working individuals not only had to deal with considerable competition from the elite and middle class but also had to endure discrimination from them. Artisans were not eligible for municipal office before 1821 because of the rule which stipulated that all those whose livelihood depended on manual skill were denied the right to be on the cabildo.[167] Their lowly social position was also reflected in their rank in the military. Before Independence the artisan class were not even allowed to join the commissioned ranks of the urban militia.[168] The tendency was that the middle class merchants involved in the production of more 'prestigious goods' such as tocinería, silverwork, and

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[166] *Ibid.*, 82.

[167] Reinhard Liehr. *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía*, (México. 1976.) Vol. I, 54.

[168] Thomson, 93.

baking were able to make rank of sergeant and corporal whereas the artisans had to be content with a perpetually low rank as a member of the militia.[169]

Within the artisan class a further division can be made between relatively skilled craftsmen and lower skilled craftsmen. The relatively skilled craftsmen were usually better off than their low skilled cohorts in terms of status and income. Such skilled crafts included "fine pottery, carpentry, shoemaking, armory, iron-founding, cauldron-making, glass-making, gilding, silk-weaving, passamanery[170], broadcloth-weaving and carriage-making."[171] The low skilled artisans were involved in such crafts as "candle manufacture from tallow, pottery, brick-making and bricklaying, stone masonry, hat-making, spinning and carding."[172] Despite the similarities between the middle class merchants and artisans, the lower middle class who occupied these lesser professions clearly did not have the same social standing in Puebla's society. The independence period saw the lifting of laws which purposely discriminated against these workers. However, life did not get much easier for them as the Porfirian period, geared towards foreign investment and big business, did nothing to assist the artisan class.

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[169] *Ibid.*, 94.

[170] Religious garment maker

[171] Thomson, 94.

[172] *Ibid.*, 94.

The remainder of Puebla's population fit into what can be described as the poor lower class. A key difference between the lower class and the rest of the social strata was the obvious racial distinction and the standard of living. Within this lower strata there is a notable increase in the participation of women in the work force. The need to survive and contribute to the family's overall earnings put women in the difficult situation of being both a housewife in a male dominant world and a wage earner. The most intriguing aspect about the women of the lower class was their wages. The average wage, according to Table #2, was 0.88 of a *real* a day, while the men's wage averaged about 1.1 *reales* a day. The difference in wages, in terms of purchasing power, was minimal, which suggests there was little discrimination in the amount of wages awarded lower class males and females. The difference, however, was visible in the types of jobs women were expected to perform.

As a group, the lower classes were in possession of little or no property. Most of their time was spent in trades where they were either self-employed or day-labourers in the factories and mills.[173] During the nineteenth century, wages

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[173] Because Puebla's working population was heavily dependent on industry and manufacturing, Puebla was one of the first areas in Mexico that had to deal with strikes and workers movements such as the *Cooperativa de Obreros Libres Unificación Patria y Progreso* (COLUPP). For instance in 1906, 32 factories were paralyzed as 6,000 workers protested their working conditions. Moisés González Navárro. *El Porfiriato : La Vida Social. Vol. IV. of Historia Moderna de Mexico.* ed. by Daniel Cosio Villega: Editorial Hermes, 1955-1970, 323-324. Typical demands made by the COLUPP included: a 10 hour work day; abolition of the taxes placed on workers; abolition of the company store; 26 festival days per year; creation of libraries and schools in the factories, etc.

averaged a *real* a day, which could barely sustain one man throughout the nineteenth century.[174] This being only enough to subsist upon meant that all family members who could work, did so.

The lower class individuals who worked either for someone else or independently nevertheless relied on the merchant class for survival. A seemingly independent struggling market vendor or street hawker relied on raw materials that were provided by the merchant class. Workers who were employed regularly, or on a daily basis, endured the most undesirable and labour intensive work. The most common work for this impoverished labour force was either in construction or the unskilled positions found in the tocinerías, bakeries, flour mills, and cotton factories.[175] The wages were barely adequate as a day-labourer earned close to one real a day. Many other jobs required semi-skilled labour yet commanded a minuscule wage. These jobs were usually taken by impoverished artisans who worked as hatmakers, tailors and shoemakers for one real a day. Employment as household servants and gardeners was also available.

Women were more likely to occupy the jobs typically associated with their gender. Washing clothes, working as a seamstress, naking tortillas and confectionery are examples

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Cristina Gómez Alvarez. "El movimiento obrero textil poblano, 1911-1913." in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*, 363-364.

[174] Thomson, 95.

[175] *Ibid.*, 97.

of the type of work women did to make ends meet. They were also important to the textile and clothing business working as cotton weavers and spinners and in retail as street vendors and owners of market stalls.

The remainder of the population of the lower class was made up of the notorious '*populacho*' or beggar/vagrant. According to contemporary accounts the populacho were a considerable problem for Puebla during the nineteenth century, especially between 1821 and 1876.[176] Descriptions of poor people, beggars, and the dispossessed who were of Indian origin were a common feature in books written by travelers to Puebla.[177] A certain element of the impoverished were prone to deviant and illegal behaviour such as debauchery, prostitution and banditry. Concerned citizens displeased at the direction Puebla was heading, wrote of the increasing number of the unruly masses which made it undesirable to even leave their home.[178] During the Porfirian period, descriptions of banditry and beggars in Puebla's streets decline considerably.

Through the examination of Puebla's social structure it becomes clear that Puebla was not simply a two-tiered society composed of the wealthy and the masses. Furthermore, the

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[176] Carlos Contreras Cruz. "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 222-223.

[177] See Poinsett, Sobre Mexico, 1827, Henry George Ward, *Mexico*. 2 Vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1829.), 468.

[178] Examples such as Madame Calderon de la Barca and Jesus Monjaras. See Contreras Cruz."La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 222-223.

manufacturing and industrial nature of the economy had an impact on every level of Puebla's social strata. Very few poblanos were not effected by Puebla's manufacturing economy. Only a few however, were able to acquire wealth from it. Elite economic and social behaviour were tied to a number of unique factors during the nineteenth century, the strongest of which was Puebla's manufacturing and industrial sector.

Chapter IV

Economy and Politics

The unique foundation and industrial nature of Puebla had a profound effect on the economic behaviour of the poblano upper class throughout the colonial and republican periods. Because the city's economy was based heavily on manufacturing and industry, wealth became the definitive sign of elite status. It is for this reason that many of the successful families that came to dominate the economic, social, ecclesiastical, and political institutions of Puebla were not the hacendados or families with prestigious lineage, but rather those who either directly or indirectly had their origins in manufacturing and industry. The accumulation of wealth through these profitable economic ventures was also the means by which foreign entrepreneurs were successful in gaining entrance into the elite ranks.[179] This chapter will examine a number of case studies that will demonstrate the importance manufacturing and industry had on the economic

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[179] The research undertaken for this project chose members of the elite on the basis of wealth, economic and political influence. The case studies used in this study highlight the most affluent and powerful members of poblano society during these periods. That many were foreigners or children of immigrants serves to exhibit the influence and importance industry had on poblano society and elite status.

growth and political involvement of the nineteenth and early twentieth century poblano elites.

Towards the end of the colonial period the composition of the elite began to change. Highly motivated immigrants from Europe were able to penetrate the upper strata with relative ease so that by the turn of the nineteenth century the privileged position of the old respected families had been supplanted. Four factors combined to make it relatively easy for European immigrants to become prominent citizens of Puebla. Foreigners with a keen sense of business acumen were able to use their skill and knowledge of the latest European technology to get ahead of their competitors. The pervasive societal inferiority complex of la Malinche was also a factor a foreign immigrant could use to his advantage. Instead of the resident poblanos perceiving the immigrants as a threat, the high society of Puebla were quick to embrace these newcomers because they were white Europeans. These young men also understood that business skills and knowledge of the latest technology would not be enough to catapult them to the lofty reaches of the elite ranks. Puebla, even though it was unique within Mexico, still maintained a strong core of elite families which had been respected for years. The key to success for many of these newcomers in this traditional society was to marry into one of these venerable families. This combination proved to be a powerful tool in gaining elite status.

Three Europeans, James Furlong, Joaquín de Haro y Portillo, and Pedro García y Huesca, who all settled in Puebla in the latter half of the eighteenth century, are excellent examples of recent immigrants becoming leading citizens of Puebla in a relatively short time. These three gentlemen, through their economic activities as owners of flour mills (which during the late colonial and early Republican periods was an undeniable sign of elite status[180]), bakeries, and tocinerias, set the standard by which a new generation of elites of the nineteenth century would follow.

The most successful foreigner who embodied these characteristics was James Furlong. Born in Belfast, Furlong left Ireland and settled in Puebla sometime in the 1760's.[181] In 1772 he married Ana Malpica, the daughter of an old and respected soap manufacturing family whose roots in Puebla date back to the 1650's.[182] With his marriage, Furlong increased his status and gained entrance into the elite circle through his union with one of the old established families of Puebla. This connection with the upper ranks of society opened the doors for Furlong and his sons to engage in areas dominated by the elite such as politics and the military. In the thirty years before his death in 1802,

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[180] Thomson. 75.

[181] Enrique Cordero y Torres, *Diccionario Biográfico de Puebla* Vol. I. (Puebla: Centro de Estudios Históricos de Puebla, 1972.), 263; Hugo Leicht, 164.; Luz Marina Morales Pardo. "Oligarquía y burguesía en Puebla. Los hermanos Furlong, 1800-1856.", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 121.

[182] Leicht, 223-24.

Furlong became the owner of extensive properties within the city and was able to acquire four flour mills: Amatlán; San Juan de Enmedio; Batán; and Guadalupe.[183]

James Furlong's legacy was passed on to his eight sons; José Sebastián, Tomás, Joaquín, Apolonio, Diego, Baltasar, Patricio and Cosme. Each son became a respected and important member of Puebla's upper class. As was common in a large family, three of the sons entered the church. Tomás became the rector of the San Cristóbal orphanage and *mayordomo* of Santa Rosa and Santa Inés convents.[184] Joaquín became a priest who was in charge of the Oratory of San Felipe Neri in the Concordia church and helped contribute to the construction of the first *Hospicio de Pobres*.[185] Apolonio was the chaplain and mayordomo of La Concepción, the wealthiest convent in Puebla.[186] In each case, Tomás, Joaquín, Apolonio had occupied an important position within the church and became respected members of Puebla through their occupation. Having members of the family in high ranking ecclesiastical positions also increased the prestige and influence of the Furlong family network because the church at this time was a very wealthy, powerful and influential institution in Puebla.[187]

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[183] Carmen Aguirre Anaya, *Personificaciones de capital: siete propiedades en la sociedad e industria textil de Puebla durante el siglo XIX*. (Puebla: CIHS, 1987.), 7.

[184] Leicht, 164.

[185] *Ibid.*, 164.; Enrique Cordero y Torres, *Diccionario Biografico de Puebla* Vol. I., 261.; Morales Pardo, 122.

[186] *Ibid.*, 164.

The other five sons followed their father in the business of flour milling and baking. The Furlong brothers were not content to limit their lifestyles to business pursuits. They were also active in politics and the military. All five of the sons held positions as aldermen and mayor at the municipal level, and two were involved at the highest level of regional politics as state governor as well as extra-regional politics at the national level.[188] Puebla had two provincial militia regiments and one municipal militia battalion.[189] For the elite, military service and achieving an elevated rank was yet another form of gaining societal prestige and status.[190] It is for this reason a number of prominent poblanos who were industrialists, manufacturers and politicians were also officers in the military.

Although not much is known about the economic investments of the first son, José Sebastian, he was an officer in the military and active in politics at the municipal level, occupying the post of alcalde in 1818, 1823,

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[187] In 1830 the church owned 50% of the urban property in Puebla. This included the nunneries which possessed 540 houses worth 2.5 million pesos. The La Concepción convent had 78 urban properties valued at more than 430,000 pesos. With the average monthly rent for one house being 21.6 pesos, La Concepción stood to gain 20,217.6 pesos annually from rent. See Rosalva Loreto López. "Los inquilinos de la Iglesia." in *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 19-20, 25.

[188] Morales Pardo, 122. José Sebastian's portfolio was quite extensive as he occupied the posts of alderman in 1809, Superintendent of Public Works in 1811, President of the Foundation of Fiestas in 1814, *Juez of Tierras y Aguas* and *Juez del Tribunal de Fiel Ejecutoría* in 1811-12, 1814, 1816.

[189] Morales Pardo, 126.

[190] Ibid., 126.

and 1824.[191] Diego was also in local politics and was commonly recognized for his involvement in the construction of the Parral limestone quarry.[192] Baltasar was the owner of the Guadalupe mill,(later converted into a textile factory), bakery and served as *alcalde* in 1850, 1854, and 1855.[193] Of all the Furlongs, the last two sons, Patricio and Cosme, had the greatest political, military and economic impact on the city of Puebla.

General Patricio Furlong owned the Huexotitlán flour mill and various bakeries.[194] His residence and estate, which contained fields of wheat and alfalfa, were located adjacent to his flour mill. To support his economic ventures Patricio borrowed heavily from the religious institutions run by his brothers.[195] This source of available and privileged credit was certainly one of the significant reasons for the family's success during the first half of the nineteenth century. Patricio also had a burgeoning career in the military and politics of Puebla. In 1820, Patricio entered the national political scene as the elected deputy to represent the

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[191] *Ibid.*, 164.; Enrique Cordero y Torres, *Diccionario biográfico de Puebla* Vol. I., 262. José Sebastian achieved the rank of lieutenant.

[192] *Ibid.*, 164.

[193] *Ibid.*, 164.; Enrique Cordero y Torres, *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla*, 115-118.

[194] AGNP, 1833.

[195] AGNP, 1833.; Thomson. p. 77.; Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello."El clero y la Iglesia en Puebla ante los cambios del siglo XIX (1825-1833)" in *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 49-56.

intendency of Puebla in the delegation to draw up the new Liberal Constitution. A few years later, he became an active member of the Constitutional congress which drew up the first Mexican Constitution in 1824.[196] A supporter of the Independence movement, Patricio contributed money and time towards the struggle for a liberated Mexico. By 1823, he had reached the rank of colonel. For Patricio, politics were closely related to military matters since there was a constant threat of attack on the city. Therefore, his duties as state governor in 1829 and again in 1833, concentrated on the protection of the city. This he did by expanding the civil militia and constructing defensive structures throughout the city.[197] Distinguishing himself as a leader, Patricio became the general of the brigade in 1833, the same year he died from cholera.

Patricio's younger brother, General Cosme Furlong, took over the governorship of the state after his brother's untimely death. Like his brother, Cosme juggled his investments with a joint career in politics and the military. Cosme was quite successful in his economic endeavors which included milling, textiles, and property ownership. The Amatlán and Enmedio mills proved to be very profitable for Cosme. These two mills, which were located on large estates situated along the San Francisco river, were converted into

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[196] Leicht, 165.

[197] *Ibid.*, 166.

mechanized factories for the production of cotton textiles.[198] It was estimated in 1869 that his textile factories were worth 240,237.37 pesos.[199] Cosme also owned extensive properties within Puebla, including seven houses valued at 102,221.72 pesos and two houses in the city of Veracruz valued at 7,918.60 pesos.[200] In the eight years before his death in 1861, Cosme received a total of 9,805 pesos, or an average of 1,225 pesos a year in rent.[201] It was estimated that his entire estate was worth almost a half a million pesos.[202] After his death, Cosme's estate was divided between his brother Baltasar and his wife Rosalia Pessietto de Furlong, who received the profitable Molino de Enmedio. A quick comparison of Cosme's estate and assets with the wages of the lower class and lower middle class effectively illustrates how wealthy he and his contemporaries were. Daily wages for lower class workers who laboured in the elites factories averaged 1.2 reales a day or 54.75 pesos a year.[203] The lower middle class, including doctors and shopkeepers, received an average daily wage of 4.2 reales a day or annual

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[198] AGNP, Notary. 5, 1869.

[199] AGNP, Not. 5, 1869.

[200] AGNP, Not. 5, 1869.

[201] AGNP, Not. 5, 1869

[202] AGNP, Not. 5, 1869. Cosme's estate was valued at 427,248.08 pesos. The average value of the estates for the elite in this study during the pre-Porfirian period was 420,429.16 pesos.

[203] See Table 2. These figures were taken in 1823.

income of 191.6 pesos.[204] It is clear through these figures that there was a staggering disparity in wealth between the elite and the majority of Puebla's population.

The Furlong brothers created an elite family network that served to increase the family's prestige, status, and wealth within Puebla. The advantages of having family members within political, military, and ecclesiastical spheres is clearly demonstrated in the success of the Furlongs. Three brothers in positions of power in the church resulted in a privileged source of credit which helped finance the investments made by the other five brothers. As well, milling and baking were profitable ventures for the Furlongs in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. From 1810 to 1830, the brothers owned one third of the flour mills and one fifth of the bakeries in Puebla.[205] Later, Cosme and Baltasar began to convert their flour mills into textile factories which, in some cases, remained profitable well into the twentieth century.[206] The predominance of the Furlong family is not only remarkable in the influence they exercised economically, politically, and ecclesiastically, but also in the family's longevity. Of all the important elite families discussed in this work, the Furlongs were the only ones to

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[204] See Table 2. Things did not improve during the Porfirian period as a cook or servants annual income was around 36 pesos. See note 7 in Chapter V.

[205] Thomson, 77.

[206] Carlos Contreras Cruz. "La ciudad de Puebla en el siglo XIX", 253.

remain prominent throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[207]

Similar to the experience of James Furlong was that of the Spanish merchant, Joaquín de Haro y Portillo, who arrived in Puebla in the 1790s. Not only did he quickly rise to elite status through his business ventures, but also became active in provincial politics as early as 1800.[208] Haro married the daughter of José Ignacio Tamariz y Cormona, owner of property in Puebla, an estate in Tepeaca, a bakery and the Mayorazgo flour mill, all of which Haro inherited in 1808.[209] Haro invested in many different economic ventures which dealt in the trade of meats, raw cotton and cotton cloth, as well as the acquisition of three tocinerias between the years 1806 and 1822.[210] Haro's economic empire was so impressive that by 1822 he was one of the principle dealers in cotton goods and owned a quarter of all the pigs in the city for his tocinerías.[211] Haro's financial success also translated into political success. Shortly after his arrival in Puebla, Haro was elected to the city council six years in a row from 1800

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[207] The English traveler W. Bullock was entertained by Patricio and Joaquín Furlong during his stay in Puebla in 1822. He was very much impressed by the Furlongs and the tour of the church of San Felipe Neri (described in detail) which was in the charge of Joaquín Furlong. Bullock, 90-91.

[208] Thomson, 76.

[209] Aguirre Anaya, 7.; Thomson, 75.

[210] Thomson, 76. The *tocinería* was a very profitable investment, especially if you owned more than one because they were scarce and the products were in constant demand.

[211] *Ibid.*, 76.

to 1806. At his death in 1825, Haro passed on his investments in cotton and tocinería, and his landholdings, which amounted to more than 25 square kilometers, to his sons.[212]

Joaquín Haro and his wife Joaquína Tamariz had five sons and eight daughters.[213] Like the Furlongs, the sons gained prominence as politicians and modern industrialists. Joaquín Jr. became state governor three times - in 1828, 1841, and 1846; inherited the El Mayorazgo mill, and owned the Dos Hermanos textile factory and a number of tocinerías.[214] Antonio Joaquín became the Minister of Hacienda for the governments of President Santa Anna in 1844, 1846 and 1853.[215] Manuel became an hacendado of two properties, San Antonio Tamariz and Santiago.[216]

Luís enjoyed considerable financial success as a textile industrialist and property owner. Already the owner of the Santo Cristo and Amistad textile factories, Luís also acquired the Molino del Carmen and the Molino de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe flour mills in 1841, which he had converted into mechanized textile factories.[217] The Carmen mill is an excellent example of the profitability of

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[212] AGNP, Not. 7, 1834. 30,065 *varas quadradas*. (1 *vara* = 0.836 meters)

[213] Aguirre Anaya, 11.

[214] *Ibid.*, 11.; Grosso, *Estructura productiva y fuerza de trabajo. Puebla 1830-1890*. (Puebla: CIHS, 1984.), 21-22.

[215] *Ibid.*, 11.

[216] *Ibid.*, 11.

[217] Thomson, 245-6.

converting a flour mill into a mechanized textile factory. As a flour mill, the Carmen mill was valued at 35,000 pesos. A few years after it was converted into a textile factory the value increased to 106,962 pesos.[218] In the Guadalupe factory alone, Haro was producing 1,129 kilos of cotton yarn a week.[219]

Luís also did exceedingly well as a property owner. Luís owned eight houses in Puebla valued at 130,189.41 pesos, and one in Mexico city, valued at 15,056.34 pesos.[220] Rents he received from the eight properties in Puebla totaled 2,252 pesos a year.[221] His total estate, including his textile factories, urban and rural property, livestock, and crops, was valued at 582,975.88 pesos.[222]

Another Spanish immigrant, Pedro García y Huesca, arrived in Puebla in the 1760s. García gained prominence through his own success as a baker and businessman. By 1800, García had accumulated enough capital through his bakeries and investments that he was able to purchase three flour mills, including the most productive mill in Puebla, the Molino de Santo Domingo, as well as a number of ranchos and

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[218] *Ibid.*, 246. See note 28.

[219] *Ibid.*, 246.

[220] AGNP, Not. 7, 1885.

[221] AGNP, Not. 7. 1885. See Aguirre Anaya, 18.

[222] AGNP, Not. 7, 1885.

haciendas in the sugar and wheat producing areas on the outskirts of the city.[223]

García passed on his expertise in the business of baking and milling to his three sons José, Matías, and Vicente. The three brothers occupied the posts of alderman and mayor and served as officers in the Patriotic regiment.[224] The three García brothers were the Furlongs' greatest rivals in the milling and baking business. Clearly, milling and baking were profitable ventures because in 1827, Captain José García y Huesca's estate was valued at over half a million pesos.[225]

The relative ease with which immigrant merchants or industrialists became leading citizens of Puebla is indicative of the importance financial success and wealth was to the poblanos. In each case, flour milling was the most important economic activity which enabled these European immigrants to become wealthy. Once they had established their economic base in milling, they diversified into other pursuits such as baking, tocinería, and property ownership. James Furlong, Joaquín de Haro y Portillo, and Pedro García y Huesca also had a significant long-term impact on Puebla. Through their sons, a new generation of elites was created. Brought up on the success of manufacturing and industry, these family networks pursued similar economic interests. While flour milling was profitable in the first few decades

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[223] Leicht, 424.

[224] Thomson, 78.

[225] *Ibid.*, 78.

of the nineteenth century a trend towards modern textile manufacturing began in the thirties.[226] Modernizing existing workshops and converting flour mills into mechanized factories was a source of considerable income and prestige for the second generation elite of Puebla.[227]

The advent of the Porfirian age, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, did not have as much impact on the economic behaviour of the elite as one might expect. While Puebla was receptive to Porfirian positivism, Puebla already had a predilection towards modernization and mechanization which was undertaken in the 1830's. Though the industrial capacity of Puebla increased during this period, the greatest change was in terms of scale rather than innovation or alteration. That is not to say that the Porfirian elites of Puebla did not benefit from the Pax Porfiriana or the new

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[226] The man who, in a sense, revolutionized Puebla's textile and manufacturing sector was the entrepreneur Estevan de Antuñano. Antuñano arrived in Puebla from Veracruz in 1810 and became interested in industry and mechanization during a trade slump after the wars of Independence. Industrial modernization was not an easy sell for Antonio because many of the poblano manufacturers distrusted machinery. The first modern cotton spinning factory was established by Antuñano and a partner in 1831. Having acquired the most valuable flour mill in Puebla, the Molino de Santo Domingo was mechanized with Arkwright spindles and power looms. Antuñano was responsible for installing most of the new machinery in the flour mills in Puebla. Most of the machinery was imported from New York and would take over a year to arrive. At his death in 1847, the first two factories Antuñano mechanized were still the largest spinning enterprises in Puebla with 11,580 Arkwright spindles and 115 power looms. Leicht, 16-20.

[227] See Appendix I. Other prominent elites who had similar backgrounds to the three families already discussed include: Ciriaco Marron Y Carballo (1830-1880); Andrés Torres (1807-1877) Manuel Pérez Almendaro; Estevan de Munuera; Rafael Mangino; Tomás Méndez de Granilla; Cayetano Maria Torres Torija. AGNP, Various notaries and Carmen Aguirre Anaya. "Capitales y textiles en la ciudad de Puebla. Nueve patrimonios durante el siglo XIX". in *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 159-170.; Thomson, 78-82.

transportation network which connected Puebla to all the important centres of Mexico. These factors combined to give the upper echelons of Puebla the chance to expand the scope and variety of their investments. It was a process which, arguably, could have occurred with or without the economic benefits of the Porfiriato. What Puebla really needed was a chance to recover from years of constant political and social turmoil. The Pax Porfiriana provided this respite and was perhaps the greatest benefit that Puebla derived from the Porfirian period. Economically, the elites' investments and behaviour were fundamentally similar. Their economic investments were still based on industry and manufacturing, as they had been in previous decades.

While there were no great changes in the elites' economic practices, there were some notable changes in the composition and behaviour of the poblano elites during the Porfirian period. A noticeable difference was the broadening of the base of the elite. There were no large imperious families like the Furlongs, Haro y Tamariz, and Garcias that were able to dominate the economic, ecclesiastical, military and political institutions of Puebla during the Porfiriato.[228] Furthermore, with the exception of the Furlongs, these families failed to maintain the same level of influence and power during the Porfiriato. This probably had little to do with the advent of the Porfirian age, since by the 1870's

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[228] Morales Pardo, 121.

most of these families were into the third generation which, by this time, inherited a diluted fortune.

There was a considerable turnover in ranchos, haciendas and factories during this period, suggesting that many fortunes did not stay within the same family for more than one generation. For instance, in 1829 eleven haciendas or factories were sold to new owners. By 1836, seven were still in possession of their properties.[229] Between 1882 and 1891, only two out of the six new property holders were able to retain their lands. In the fourteen years following 1891, only five of the new twenty-four property holders were the same by 1905.[230] These figures suggest that the turnover rate for new property holders of ranchos, haciendas, and factories had increased during the Porfiriato. In the period between 1795 and 1911, only one family was successful in holding a property for more than two generations. This property was the El Molino de San Juan de Enmedio, owned by the Furlong family for 125 years.[231] The observation made by Andrés Molina Enríquez that the great property holders of Mexico conserved their properties and passed them down from generation to generation did not hold true for the elites in Puebla.[232]

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[229] Roberto Vélez Pliego, "*Propietarios y producción. La economía agricola del municipio de Puebla a fines del Porfiriato*" in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución*. (Puebla: CIHS, 1987), 77.

[230] *Ibid.*, 300.

[231] *Ibid.*, 297. James Furlong - Cosme Furlong - Rosalia P. de Furlong - Tomás Furlong

[232] Quotation by Andrés Molina Enríquez taken from Roberto Vélez Pliego's, "*Propietarios y producción. La economía agricola del municipio*

Even though the Furlongs maintained their wealth for a lengthy period of time, the powerful family network had weakened by the third generation. By the late Porfiriato, there was only one Furlong of significance in Puebla. A possible explanation is that only two out of the eight Furlong brothers, discussed earlier, married and sired children. Patricio had one son, José Miguel, and five daughters. Cosme had seven children, four sons and three daughters. Surprisingly, the only third generation Furlong to be mentioned with any frequency in historical accounts was Cosme's son, Tomás.

Cosme's wife, Rosalia P. de Furlong, inherited the Molino de Enmedio after Cosme's death in 1861. Rosalia, with the help of her son Tomás, continued the process of modernization and expansion well into the Porfiriato. By the time Tomás inherited the Molino de Enmedio in 1911, the capacity of the factory to produce cotton textiles had increased from 2,400 spindles and 20 looms in the 1850's to 4,402 spindles and 148 looms by 1911.[233] Even though Tomás was involved in economic pursuits similar to those of his uncles, he began to exhibit an attitude typical of the Porfirian elite in Puebla.[234] Tomás did not become involved in politics or the military, nor did he become heavily involved in

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de Puebla a fines del Porfiriato.", 322. Original citation is from Andrés Molina Enríquez, "*Los grandes problemas nacionales*", *Problemas agrícolas e industriales de México. México, julio-septiembre de* 1951. Núm, 3, Vol. III, 55.

[233] AGNP, Not. 5, 1873.; Roberto Vélez Pliego, 43-44.

[234] This change in attitude will be examined in Chapter V.

industry. Like many of his contemporaries, he was more interested in social, intellectual and cultural diversions.[235] The rationalization for becoming involved in these economic activities changed from one of status to the practical reality of supporting their 'elite' lifestyle. This in contrast to the early nineteenth century poblano elite who were defined by their role as industrialists and manufacturers.

Many elites also chose not to become involved in the church or the military. Elite activity was usually confined to economic and political involvement. Francisco de Velasco is an excellent example of an upper class poblano politician whose family had achieved elite status in Puebla through their involvement in textiles. While Velasco did become involved in industry he, like many other sons of elite families during this period, was more interested in reflecting an elite status that encompassed cultural enrichment rather than economic gain. Velasco's rise to elite status did not occur as a result of the Porfirian period but was based on his family's economic affluence which had its origins in the early nineteenth century. José Velasco y Gutiérrez del Valle, a merchant from Spain, moved and settled in the eastern port of Veracruz within the first few decades of the nineteenth century.[236] An official Spanish

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[235] See the preface in Leicht, *Las Calles de Puebla.*

[236] Contreras Cruz and Salazar Ibargüen. "Francisco de Velasco y la transformación de la ciudad de Puebla, 1906-1910", 76.

representative after Independence, José Velasco became a prominent impresario in Veracruz. His commercial and industrial investments, located in both Veracruz and Puebla, included the importation of luxurious goods from Europe, the local production of blankets and sugar, and ranching.[237] José Velasco's estate was estimated to be worth one million pesos in 1851, twelve years before his death in 1863.[238] Instead of dividing the estate among the five sons, Pedro Juan, Francisco de Paula, Justo José Ramón, José Lino y Dionisio José de Velasco y Carballo, they decided to run their father's investments through a fraternal corporation called La Sociedad Velasco Hermanos.[239] The corporation's assets included the cotton spinning and weaving factory, 'El Patriotismo Mexicano'; a business firm in Veracruz and in Puebla called 'Velasco e Hijos (or Velasco and Sons); the livestock hacienda 'Paso del Toro' and the hacienda and sugar plantation 'Novilleros' which were both situated near Veracruz; and other properties located in the city of Veracruz.[240]

Founded in 1839 by José Velasco and two of his associates, El Patriotismo Mexicano became the largest textile factory in the state of Puebla.[241] After Jose's death,

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[237] Aguirre Anaya, 39.

[238] Moisés González Navarro, *Anatomía del poder en México, 1848-1853*. (México: El Colegio de México, 1977.), 172.

[239] Aguirre Anaya, 40.

[240] *Ibid.*, 40.

his sons proceeded to upgrade the factory with the best machinery that existed at the time.[242] Because none of the brothers made Puebla their permanent home, they placed their poblano cousin Ciriaco Marrón y Carballo in charge of the factory's administration.[243] Ownership of the factory went to the eldest brother Dionisio de Velasco y Carballo in 1888. A combination of disinterest in industry, poor management by the cousin, and debts the corporation had to pay off resulted in a decline of the factory's productivity by the 1890's.[244] Dionisio was desirous of living an aristocratic lifestyle and was not interested in pursuing a career as a businessman. This is evident in his active participation in Maximilian's court as an official of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe.[245] Dionisio also met his wife during his service to the emperor. She too was in the employ of the Mexican empire as a lady-in-waiting for the empress Carlota. Instead of paying close attention to the growing economic threat of the large factories being constructed in Orizaba in the 1880's, Dionisio and his family traveled to Europe where he left his sons Francisco and José to study. When Dionisio returned to

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[241] Carmen Aguirre Anaya. "Propietarios de la industria textil de Puebla en el siglo XIX: Dionisio de Velasco y Pedro Berges de Zuñiga." in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribución al estudio de su historia.* pp. 180-181.; Contreras Cruz and Salazar Ibargüen. "Francisco de Velasco", 76.

[242] Aguirre Anaya, *Personificaciones de capital,* 45.

[243] *Ibid.*, 45.

[244] Contreras Cruz and Salazar Ibargüen. "Francisco de Velasco", 76.

[245] *Ibid.*, 77.

Mexico his investments in Puebla were doing very poorly. In 1899 El Patriotismo Mexicano could no longer compete in the textile market and was compelled to shut down. In 1901, Dionisio passed away, leaving the inactive factory to his two sons.[246]

Born in 1866, Francisco de Velasco was influenced considerably by the Porfirian call to modernization and progress. Francisco's avid support of Porfirian positivism can be traced to his family and educational background. He began his primary schooling at the Colegio Católico del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús in Mexico. Like many elite sons at the time, Francisco was sent to Europe to pursue his post-secondary education at the Ecole de Ponts et Chausseés in the University of Lovaine.[247] Having completed his first degree in engineering, Francisco attended the Catholic University of Ireland, studying toward a Bachelor of Arts degree.[248] Francisco returned to Mexico in 1886 to help his father run his business ventures in Puebla. The importance of Francisco's educational background cannot be understated and was the driving force behind his pro-Porfirian support.

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[246]Aguirre Anaya, *Personificaciones de capital,* 46. In the 1840's the La Constancia factory was worth 297,922.02 pesos.; Carmen Aguirre Anaya. "Propietarios de la industria textil de Puebla en el siglo XIX: Dionisio de Velasco y Pedro Berges de Zuñiga." in *Puebla en el siglo XIX: Contribución al estudio de su historia.* p. 181.

[247] Contreras Cruz and Salazar Ibargüen. "Francisco de Velasco", 77.

[248] *Ibid.*, 77.

While Francisco assisted his father in the administration of the struggling El Patriotismo factory in 1888, his real ambition was to convey the positivist vision to Puebla.[249] In the same year Francisco agreed to help his father, he was named *regidor del ayuntamiento de Puebla*. In his new role, Francisco began to pursue with considerable vigor the viability of modernizing and beautifying Puebla according to what he had seen during his travels through Europe. Velasco's enthusiasm and ideas, which represented the Porfirian ideal of progress and modernization, impressed the two most important people in Mexico who could boost and sustain his political career. The first was the governor of the state of Puebla, General Municio P. Martínez, who took notice of Francisco in the early 1890's, and Porfirio Díaz, who met Francisco in 1901.[250] Francisco was finally able to realize his dream of modernizing Puebla in 1906 when he became Puebla's ninety-third municipal president.[251] Francisco maintained his position as municipal president for six consecutive years, longer than any other in Puebla's history. During this period, Francisco undertook an ambitious public works, beautification and modernization program, as discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

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[249] See Francisco de Velasco, *Puebla y su transformación. Mis proyectos y mi gestión al manejo en Ayuntamiento de Puebla de 1907 a 1910*. (Puebla: Imprenta El Escritorio, 1912.)

[250] *Ibid.*, 79.

[251] Enrique Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla*. Vol. I, 84.

Not all poblano elites during this period had such a strong impact on Puebla as Francisco de Velasco, but his case is useful for it represents the new generation of elites within Puebla that shared similar backgrounds and values.[252] This was a generation that had its roots in industry and manufacturing but had the luxury of living off the efforts of previous generations. Francisco did not have to maintain his status through industry (even though it sustained him), since like many of his contemporaries, his interests lay elsewhere.

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[252] Other prominent elites of this period include Manuel García Teruel (1812-1889); Apolonio Hernández; Ignacio Romero Vargas; Pedro Berges de Zúñiga. See Appendix II. Aguirre Anaya. "Capitales y textiles en la ciudad de Puebla", 160-162, 167.

Chapter V

Social Behaviour

One of the most visible and profound changes in elite behaviour during the Porfirian era was social. The majority of the poblano elites, armed with the positivist ideal, began to pursue new interests that reflected a considerable foreign influence. The transition into a new social role based on foreign values was not unfamiliar to the privileged members of Puebla. The upper class looked to Europe for guidance on matters relating to etiquette and culture. For the poblano elite, social status revolved around certain economic and social behavioural patterns. This included conspicuous consumption, which was considered to be the physical proof that an individual belonged to the upper echelons of society. In terms of elite status, possessing the physical *accoutrements* of upper class existence was just as important as success in industry or manufacturing.

Elite households were extremely important as a determinant of the success and importance of particular elite families. Because of Puebla's Iberian heritage, location of a house was just as significant as size and style. As late as the early twentieth century, the old traditional vestiges of

Spanish town planning were still in evidence. The Spanish town plan, prevalent throughout the vast expanse of Latin America, focused on the city centre where the traditional Spanish institutions of power were located.[253] *El centro* was typically dominated by a zócalo (main square), a cathedral, government buildings, and private households owned by the most affluent members of society. From this focal point, a hierarchy based on socio-economic status radiated outward from the centre to the outlying barrios which housed the low income members of society.[254]

Not surprisingly, elite members of Puebla were eager to possess property close to the zócalo, since a considerable amount of prestige could be garnered via the location of their household within the city. A typical elite dwelling during this period consisted of a two- or three-storey house reflecting the architectural tradition of Spain.[255] Square or rectangular in shape, each house had numerous rooms facing at least one spacious courtyard in the interior, and decorated

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[253] James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanich America and Brazil*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.), 65-68.

[254] *Ibid.*, 67.

[255] The elite houses constructed in the sixteenth century adopted the simple Romanesque style. It was not until the seventeenth century that the private and civil structures of Puebla began to reflect the highly ornamented *plataresco* style from Spain which combined gothic, classical and Arabic elements. The style which dominated the eighteenth century architecture of Puebla was the *churriqueresco* which incorporated elements of the baroque from the previous century. It was during this century that the unique poblano tiles called talavera were used to decorate the exterior. The nineteenth century witnessed the revival of the neo-classical style and during the *Porfiriato* the French influence was dominant as new elite residences called '*chalets*' were constructed and the style '*Art Nouveau* ' was applied on new public buildings.

iron balconies facing the street.[256] A feature of these large houses unique to and characteristic of Puebla was the painted tile which adorned the exterior. Many travelers who visited the city during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries remarked on the houses' bright mosaic-like features.[257] (see Plate 3) Describing the houses, W. Bullock stated in 1824:

> The houses are spacious, mostly three stories, with flat roofs, and many are covered with glazed tiles, of delft and various colours, some forming pictures and having the appearance of a rich mosaic...and most of them have iron balconies in front lined with porcelain tiles. Each house forms a square court in its centre, with open galleries passing around...[and] have a fountain of fine water.[258]

In many cases, elite families like the Furlongs and the Haro y Tamariz owned more than one property within the city as well as countryside estates.

The family very rarely occupied the entire house. The ground-floor was used primarily for shops or office space that either belonged to the owner or was rented out to artisans and shopkeepers. The second-floor was occupied by the servants and guests, and the third was reserved for the family.[259] Besides family members, each residence had between

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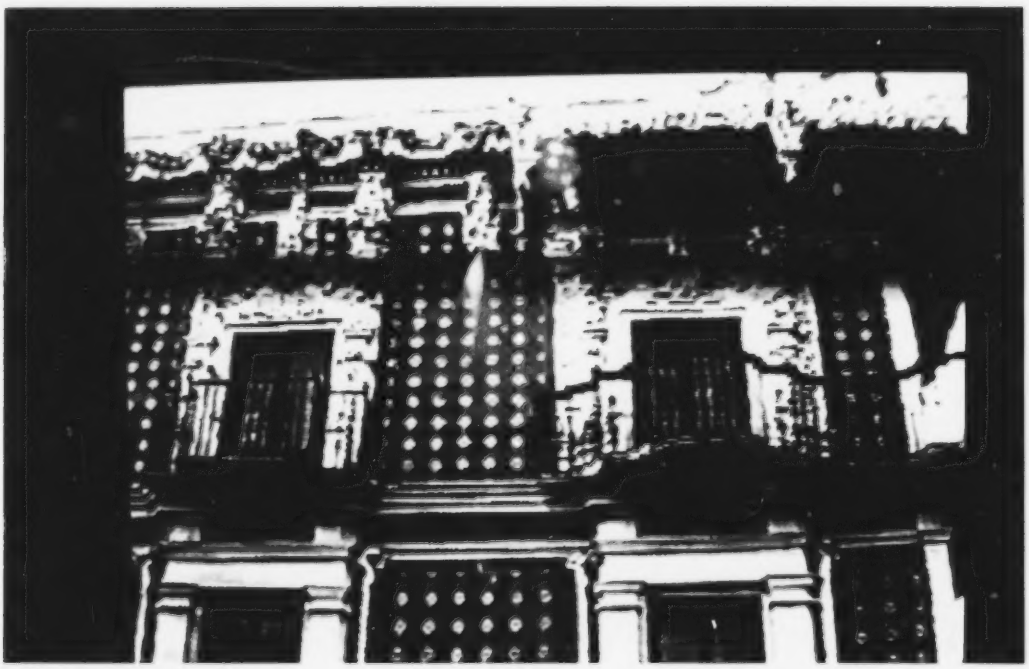
[256] Liehr, 56.

[257] See Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher (eds.). *Life in Mexico: The Letters of Fanny Calderon de la Barca*. 83-84.; W. Bullock, 84-85; Martin, 99-100.; Blichfeldt, 176.

[258] Bullock. pp. 84-85. The tiles which Bullock speaks of were usually decorated in a style unique to Puebla called Talavera. The production of this tile was profitable for Puebla and was engaged in by many artisans.

PLATE 3: Examples of Talavera



three to five servants including cooks (who were kept busy preparing five meals a day), attendants, chamber maid, nanny, coachmen, and cleaners.[260]

Antonio Haro y Tamariz resided in an immense three-storey house located a half block east of the zocalo.[261] Architecturally similar to the style described above, Antonio's residence was considered to be one of the 'most elegantly furnished' in all of Mexico.[262] Fanny Calderon de la Barca described the house as being"...of immense size, and floors beautifully painted. One large room is furnished with pale blue satin, another with crimson damask, and there are fine inlaid tables, handsome mirrors, and everything in very good taste."[263]

While many of the poblano elite had residences located within the city, it was not uncommon for some of them to spend a portion of their time living in the countryside on their estates. Such was the case of General Patricio Furlong whose preferred residence was located on the outskirts of Puebla. Patricio's estate consisted of a large house ideally

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[259] Liehr, 54.; Bullock, 86.

[260] Thomson. p. 74.; Moisés González Navárro, 393. During the *Porfiriato*, cooks made between 2 to 4 pesos a month; chamber maid = 2 - 3; nanny = 1.5 - 2.5; washers = 2 - 5; wet-nurse = 5 - 15.

[261] Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 759. see note 3.

[262] *Ibid.*, 406.

[263] *Ibid.*, 406. During her first visit to Puebla Fanny Calderon de la Barca was less than impressed and was reluctant to describe her surroundings with any precision. For instance she described a room in a house of an unidentified elite as "handsome [and] furnished with chairs and sofas of scarlet stuff..."

situated adjacent to his Huexotitlán flour mill and large acreage. Here Patricio engaged in agricultural pursuits on a small scale harvesting wheat and alfalfa.[264] Connected to the flour mill, a residence called a *calpan* was constructed to house the thirty-seven Indian workers who laboured in the mill.[265] Even though Patricio was a successful industrialist, he, like many other members of the upper class maintained an estate outside of Puebla. Owning a rancho or hacienda was a traditional yet powerful mark of elite status throughout most of Mexico.

The interior of Patricio's residence was decorated with many European furnishings including chairs, couches, crystal mirrors, and a German piano valued at 300 pesos.[266] In stark contrast to the elegant and costly imported goods, Patricio's household was also bedecked with religious iconography, suggesting that he was a religious individual.[267] Although the

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[264] AGNP, Not., 1833. ; Thomson, 77.

[265] AGNP, Not., 1833. According to Patricio's will, these workers were indebted to the amount of 1,080 pesos

[266] AGNP, Not., 1833.

[267] It is difficult to say with any certainty whether or not individual families followed the same religious practices as the Furlongs. However, the conservative nature of the elite in Puebla at the time and the fact that primary schooling was completed in church-run facilities probably had a significant influence. Furthermore, many sons and daughters of wealthy families were affiliated to the church in some way because it was a powerful institution and a potentially powerful ally to members of the wealthy class. Religious institutions played a significant role throughout Puebla's history, from its foundation throughout the colonial period and into the twentieth century. As early as 1650, Puebla was reported to have 1,400 ecclesiastical personnel, including 600 nuns. By 1830 the church owned 50% of the urban property including the nunneries which possessed 540 houses worth 2.5 million pesos. Rosalva Loreto López. "Los inquilinos de la Iglesia.", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del*

imposition of foreign values and culture did not occur on the same scale in the early and mid-nineteenth century as it did during the Porfirian period, European luxury goods nevertheless had always been in high demand by the poblano elite. As noted above, the possession of luxury goods from Europe was a clear indicator of wealth and status in society. The importance conspicuous consumption played in the lives of the elite increased during the French intervention and intensified even further during the Porfirian period.

Patricio was an avid reader, for he maintained a three hundred volume library within his domicile. His collection included a wide range of topics that covered: military history and strategy; the French Revolution; general history; classical works; constitutional law; educational theory; the works of Alexander Von Humboldt; and publications which examined agriculture, science, politics, and industry.[268] Such a varied collection of works suggest that Patricio had Liberal convictions, was open-minded, and had a broad range of interests augmented by an eagerness to expand his knowledge and skill through literature.

A small armory of sixteen firearms and seventy bayonets was also located within the household.[269] Although Patricio was a general and active in military campaigns that

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siglo XIX, 19-20. The 'City of Angels' has been called the city of churches and is next to Cholula which has more churches per capita than any other city in the Americas. See J.I. Israel, 48.

[268] Thomson, 77.

[269] AGNP, Not. 7. 1833; Thomson, 77.

threatened the city of Puebla, a store of arms used to protect family and property was not uncommon for members of the elite during this period. It should be remembered that the Independence movement ushered in an age of continual conflict that was particularly destructive to Puebla for six decades.

For transportation purposes, the elite usually owned a carriage and a number of riding horses and mules to act as draft animals. Although there is no mention of horses or mules in his estate records, Patricio most likely owned at least a few horses and mules, since he maintained two private coaches and a couple of carts in which he transported goods to and from his estate. Before the Porfirian period and the introduction of the automobile, owning a coach was an infallible sign of elite status. In 1807, it was recorded that there were only 145 privately owned coaches in Puebla.[270] Only one man, the intendant of Puebla, Manuel Flon, had more than one coach before 1810.[271] By the 1830's General Patricio Furlong had acquired two ornate coaches of his own.[272]

These sumptuously decorated horse-drawn carriages, which were extremely expensive, were not purchased to increase the owner's comfort on his travels outside the city. The notoriously poor road conditions would have ruined the coach as well as making it easy prey for highwaymen. Rather, the

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[270] *Ibid.*, 74.

[271] Liehr, 55.

[272] AGNP, Not. 7. 1833.

use of these luxurious vehicles was limited to a social gathering or parade of sorts, undertaken by the owners and their families as they toured through Puebla's parks and streets.[273] According to W. Bullock, "That many of the inhabitants are wealthy is attested by their equipages and retinues: handsome carriages, drawn by mules richly caparisoned, and attended by servants in showy liveries, parade the streets, and *alamedas*, or public walks, particularly on Sundays and holydays."[274] The coaches and the promenade had two purposes: it was a medium in which the upper class could publicly demonstrate their wealth; and it was a form of entertainment and social interaction for the elite.

Such a detailed inventory of Patricio's estate gives considerable insight into the lifestyle, interests and behaviours of other members of the elite in Puebla during this period. Like many of the individuals discussed above, Patricio was a devoted industrialist, politician, and militarist. During the period in which he lived, there was little time for leisure. He spent a great deal of his time dealing with matters concerning the welfare of the city and state, as well as personal protection against constant external threats (reflected in his own armory) and disease. Yet, Patricio nevertheless conformed to the rules of elite membership. Luxuries such as European furniture and private

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[273] Liehr, 54.

[274] W. Bullock, 109.

coaches reflected his conspicuous consumption and enjoyment in the finer qualities of life.

Elite social interaction and activity during this period was very private and insular. Most wealthy families did not interact with the public, but chose to remain closely connected to the inner circle of other elite families. As a result, not many forms of entertainment were available to them during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century. The most common and frequent forms of entertainment and social interaction were dinner parties and the theatre. Dinner guests were not limited to other wealthy poblanos. Elite families, such as the Furlongs and Haro y Tamariz, extended invitations to any foreign dignitaries and travelers passing through Puebla. For instance, Bullock had been entertained by at least two Furlongs in the 1820's and Angel Calderón de la Barca and his wife were guests at the table of Antonio Haro y Tamariz a number of times in 1841.[275] The practice of hosting European and American travelers illustrates the poblano elites' desire to associate with foreigners. It was also an opportunity to impress the travelers with their affluence and munificent hospitality.

Outside the home, the most favoured form of entertainment for the wealthy class was the theatre. Puebla's *Teatro Principal*, said to be the oldest functioning theatre in the Americas,[276] held performances at least three times a

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[275] W. Bullock. See chapter on Puebla.; Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 405, 410 and 411.

week. Patrons of the theatre could expect comedies, tragedies, and plays with religious themes.[277] The wealthiest members of society, such as Antonio Haro y Tamariz, could afford their own private boxes where they entertained guests after dinner.[278]

Horsemanship was one of the few sports elite males took part in during the nineteenth century. Being able to demonstrate skill in the handling of a horse, as well as owning a number of fine mounts was evidence of wealth and an elevated status. Riders purchased the finest horse(s) they could afford, preferably white in colour, with handsomely decorated tack. To afford contrast, the horsemen's attire was black with silver buttons and embroidered silver thread which decorated the sides of the sleeves and pant-legs.[279] These adept riders were able to publicly demonstrate their wealth and skills during festival holidays, parades, and cavalcades.[280] Their respect for the skills of the *charro* or cowboy was also reflected in their enjoyment of the *charreada*, or rodeo, where rural skills of horsemanship were displayed.[281] The fact that many elite males pursued

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[276] See note 2 on page 759 of Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher.; Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. III, 351. Construction began in 1749 and was finished in 1759.

[277] *Ibid.*, 405 and 410.

[278] *Ibid.*, 405 and 410.

[279] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. II, 12.

[280] *Ibid.*, 12.

[281] *Ibid.*, 12.

equestrian skills with enthusiasm and supported charreadas demonstrates that during the first half of the nineteenth century the elite still held on to old Spanish/Colonial Mexican values and traditions. Even the dress of the men reflected a more traditional and colonial style:

> ...the very dresses and accoutrements of the country gentlemen strongly remind us of the period of the discovery of Americas, the costumes having undergone very little alteration from their first introduction by the Spaniards: the same high fronted military saddle, with its defensive cantlets and covering for the horse...and the enormous spur, are now in constant use by the paysanas or country gentlemen.[282]

Other forms of diversion included the promenade or parade of coaches already mentioned. Besides the significance outlined above, it was also one of the few times family members appeared in public during the day. This was particularly true for the female elite who led restricted and sheltered lives. One of the criticisms Bullock imparted upon the city of Puebla was the fact that he only occasioned a few glimpses of 'the higher order of women' during the promenades and mass.[283] Bullock's observation was probably quite accurate since the only time elite women could be seen in public with any regularity was during mass, at the theatre, and while riding in the coaches.

Few options were available to women of wealthy families. Education for young females was limited to reading, writing,

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[282] Bullock, 82-83.

[283] Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 109.

music, and theology. These subjects were taught to young girls in church-run schools within the protective walls of the many convents located throughout the city. At home, they received a more practical education from their mothers in the domestic arts. Despite this limited lifestyle, women nevertheless engaged in some surprising behaviour. During the mid-nineteenth century, upper class women were consumed by a tobacco craze. Bemused travelers to Puebla commented on the frequency with which women smoked tobacco.[284] Not only did they smoke during dinner, they also smoked in public places during mass, concerts, and the theatre.[285] It finally reached the point where the clergy of Santo Domingo de Guzmán prohibited women from smoking in the church and strongly encouraged them to quit the unlady-like habit.[286]

Marriage for women usually occurred at an early age between the ages of seventeen and nineteen. The conjugal union itself was usually carefully arranged by the parents of two elite families hoping to mutually profit from one another's status, political or financial strengths.[287] The importance of relations between two families and the use of arranged marriages to bind them together is evident in the case of the two families, Haro y Tamariz and Ovando de

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[284] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. II, 13.; Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 406.

[285] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. II, 13.

[286] *Ibid.*, 13.

[287] Lomnitz and Perez-Lizaur, 135-138.

Cervantes. Relatives of the rich, titled Cervantes family of Mexico City, the Cervantes Ovando family of Puebla had arranged the marriages of their two daughters and one son to the three sons and one daughter of Joaquín and Joaquína Haro y Tamariz.[288] Clearly, the importance of creating and strengthening family connections outweighed any personal desire or love interest the Cervantes Ovando or Haro y Tamariz children may have had. This is illustrated in the marriage of Dolores Ovando de Cervantes and Antonio Haro y Tamariz.[289] Dolores had married Antonio, ten years her senior, before she was nineteen years old.[290] Despite Antonio's untimely death in 1869, the connection between the families and the sense of duty was so strong that Dolores was compelled to marry her late husband's brother.[291]

The only alternative to marriage was life in the convent. Puebla had eleven convents by the 1840's and could easily support a large number of young female recruits.[292] Surprisingly, the latter choice was still common by the mid-nineteenth century, especially among large families. Antonio Haro y Tamariz had seven sisters, four of whom became nuns in

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[288] Joaquin Jr. married Concepción Ovando; Antonio and Manuel were both married to Dolores Ovando, and María Encarnación married José María Ovando de Cervantes. See Aguirre Anaya. *Personificaciones de capital*, 11.

[289] *Ibid.*, 759. See note 4.

[290] Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 759. See note 4.

[291] Aguirre Anaya. *Personificaciones de capital*, 11.

[292] Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 406.

four separate convents.[293] The remaining three sisters, Maria Encarnación, Maria Sacramento and Maria de la Luz, married.[294]

Little changed in terms of elite social behaviour at the turn of the nineteenth century. Social behaviour and elite lifestyle reflected a mix of two cultures. Purchasing and possessing imported items like furniture from Europe and expensive coaches were activities the elite in Puebla had always engaged in. Since many of the elite were foreign born themselves or children of foreigners, it is not unreasonable to suggest that they would desire some of the luxuries of home. Yet, there were also certain behaviours and lifestyle choices which represented an influence of colonial Mexico. Such as their need to solidify their status by owning land and maintaining residences outside the city as well as improving their skill as horsemen and enjoying charreadas. Elite behaviour began to change with the arrival of Maximilian and Carlota in 1864. Wealthy poblanos soon acquired a taste for the aristocratic lifestyle and foreign customs they witnessed during the short-lived Mexican Empire.[295] It was during this period that the poblano elite

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[293] Maria Ramona, Maria Antonia, Maria Guadalupe and Maria Manuela

[294] Aguirre Anaya. *Personificaciones de capital*, 11.; Fanny Calderon de la Barca had dinner with the four sisters at Antonio's house. Apparently, it was their choice to enter the convent. Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher, 410.

[295] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla*. Vol. II, 14.

experienced the 'wonders' of French style, which left an indelible impression on Porfirian elite social behaviour.

Thus, Porfirian positivism not only embraced European and American economic policy, but it also attempted to transplant foreign cultural values on an already culturally diverse Mexico. The rationalization for an ideology that rejected one's own culture can be traced in part to the concept of la Malinche which was reinforced during the Porfirian era. The Mexican positivists asserted that Northern Europe and the United States had socio-economic systems that were superior to Mexico's backward evolution. The reason, in the eyes of the Porfirian apologists, was elementary: Europe and the United States were modern, industrial, and progressive - whereas Mexico was not.

The Porfirian elites realized that their own lifestyles had to evolve with the positivist doctrine of modernization and progress. The upper class needed to adopt foreign styles and costume if they were to be recognized as part of the international gentry. The need to 'fit in' was exacerbated by the increasing numbers of wealthy foreigners who began to associate with the upper ranks of Mexico's social structure.

French culture was deemed the most refined and was consequently imitated by Mexican high society. The latest fashions came from Paris, schools taught French as a second language, even the military adopted French-style uniforms. The importance of foreign acceptance had such a profound effect on the insecure Mexican elite that cultural activities

such as the charreada and bullfighting, which had been enjoyed by the elite for generations, were rejected as ungentlemanly amusements. Díaz even went so far as to ban bullfights in some of the major centres of Mexico during his first administration.[296] Traditional Mexican diversions could be terminated by a few disapproving comments made by foreign dignitaries. For instance, in honour of Porfirio Diaz's birthday, a charreada was held at a posh club in Mexico City. Despite the success of the birthday party and enjoyment had by all, it was the last charreada held by the club because of the comments made by a French visitor, C. Bertie-Marriot. The social historian William Beezley states,

> This French fop criticized the unseemly morning hours, remarking sarcastically that perhaps the Mexicans knew that it was mid-afternoon in Paris; he scoffed at the traditional costumes worn by both contestants and spectators, finding them shamefully plebeian rather than an expression of nationalistic pride. Believing he had attended some kind of horse-race meeting rather than something closer to a rodeo, he questioned the absence of gentlemanly wagering and snickered at the undignified events featuring working horses rather than thoroughbreds. Altogether he found the president-elect's birthday fete distastefully *declasse*. His views quickly permeated the jockey club; the members dropped the *charreada*, giving all their attention to the races that they also initiated in 1882.[297]

That the comments of one French individual resulted in the wholesale rejection of a traditional Mexican form of

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[296] Beezley, 16. To prove to foreigners that Mexico was modern and progressive, Díaz passed a law which required Indians entering Mexico City to wear pants and felt hats.

[297] *Ibid.*, 7.

entertainment effectively demonstrates the force of la Malinche on elite behaviour as well as their strong desire to feel modern and progressive. As a result, the elite chose activities that were consistent with the Porfirian push towards progress and rejected those that were antithetical to modernism.

The poblano elite embraced these foreign ideals with considerable vigour. Puebla's patrician class began to spend more time pursuing a more leisurely and culturally enriching lifestyle. A new fascination with sports and the latest fads and fashions were mixed with their old respect for European culture. The result was an elite lifestyle that encompassed new social behaviours.

There are several reasons for the change in elite social behaviour during the Porfiriato. A number of elite males had been educated in Europe, a practice which increased throughout the Porfirian period.[298] Having been brought up and socialized in a society that respected foreign culture more than their own, coupled with the experience of living and receiving an education in Europe, resulted in an obvious bias towards European traditions and lifestyle. Porfirian positivism garnered enthusiastic support among the wealthy poblanos because they believed that adopting the trappings of French culture or modernizing the city was the necessary and logical step to curing Mexico's social ills.

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[298] Cordero y Torres. *Historia compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. II, 27.

The Pax Porfiriana was also significant in that it provided a respite from the continual misfortunes of the pre-Porfirian period. The elite could develop new interests and devote more time to leisure activities. Furthermore, the development of Puebla's infrastructure and advances in transportation technology meant that the poblano elite were no longer isolated (or no longer could remain isolated, depending on how you look at it), but were connected to the cosmopolitan capital of Mexico by rail and highway. The increased accessibility of Mexico City made the dissemination of new fads and fashions to Puebla quick and easy. It also meant that the poblano elite were in constant communication and contact with their counterparts in the capital. A new relationship began to form between extra-regional elites that was no longer based solely on political and economic bonds, but on social and cultural levels as well.

Fiestas and celebrations usually associated with the popular classes began to take on a more significant role in the lifestyle of the wealthy.[299] The intrusive behaviour of the elite during these 'Mexican' fiestas caused considerable discontent among the lower strata of society. Instead of respecting the traditional elements of Mexican fiestas, such as exploding and burning effigies of Judas, the elite chose

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[299] Moisés González Navárro. *El Porfiriato: La Vida Social*. Vol. 4 in Daniel Cosio Villegas (ed.) *Historia Moderna de Mexico*. Mexico City: Editorial Hermes. 1955-1970, 706.

to 'gentrify' the celebrations by excluding the traditional aspects they considered barbaric.[300]

Celebrations included elaborate dances, carnivals, parades of cyclists and carriages, and banquets in private clubs and homes of prominent families.[301] May 5 or '*Cinco de Mayo*', the day in 1862 where General Ignacio Zaragoza and his troops stationed at Puebla defeated the advancing French army, was one of the most anticipated annual celebrations in Puebla. During the Porfiriato, the 2 April 1891 stands out as one of the most memorable fiestas. A lavish banquet attended by the most distinguished poblano families was hosted by the state governor, General Rosenda Márquez, for Porfirio Díaz. It was during this celebration that Díaz publicly abolished the death penalty in Mexico and officially opened the newly constructed penitentiary.[302] Festivities concluded with a spectacular fireworks display.[303] Civic and religious holidays

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[300] For an excellent discussion on the clash between the elite and the popular classes during celebrations see William Beezley's, *Judas at the Jockey Club*.

[301] González Navárro, 706, 708-709.

[302] *Ibid.*, 709.; Nydia Elizabeth Cruz Barrera."Los encierros de los ángeles. Las prisiones poblanos en el siglo XIX."in *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 223-224, 240-41. The penitentiaries that were constructed during the Porfirian period in Mexico City and Puebla were pleasant looking structures (resemble mediaeval castles) and remarkably well made. These building projects were an obvious ploy by Porfirian positivists to impress foreigners and silence the critics who complained of the harsh treatment of prisoners as well as satisfy the Porfirian need for obedience and order. Because of the quality of the workmanship and storage space, both prisons have been turned into archives. The Archivo General de la Nacion in the Lecumberri prison in Mexico City and Archivo General de Notarias de Puebla, the Archivo General de Puebla, and Archivo Judicial which are all located in the prison described above.

[303] González Navárro, 709.

were not the only occasions a raucous fiesta was held. The arrival of the railway, for instance, was treated with considerable pomp and circumstance.[304] It seemed that anything that relieved the monotony of daily life was excuse enough to hold a celebration.

While the elites began to assume a more active and public role in Puebla's celebrations, the dinner party remained an important form of social interaction among the well-to-do. The difference was that the private get-togethers were no longer limited to those who resided within Puebla or to visiting dignitaries. With increasing frequency, the poblano and *capitalino* elite began to associate with one another through dinners, fiestas, and celebrations. Even the political elite of Mexico City occasioned a few trips to Puebla. Miguel Bernal Ortega, the son of the wealthy hacendado, Joaquín Bernal, was in the enviable position of receiving Porfirio Díaz for dinner in his home in Puebla on 24 April 1896.[305] With the arrival of the railroad and faster forms of communication, the poblano elite realized, that to become part of the international gentry, they had to expand their lifestyle beyond the confines of Puebla.

The once popular theatre began to be associated with the middle class during the Porfirian period.[306] Consequently, the

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[304] *Ibid.*, 709.

[305] Interview with Aldo Rivero Pastor, August 17-20, 1984. Dr. Miguel Bernal was married to María Asunción Bravo y Mendizábal who was the niece of Nicolas Bravo.

[306] González Navárro, 749.

elite thirsted for a new form of entertainment which reflected their refined tastes and at the same time upheld their social prestige. The poblano elites turned to the symphony and opera as their new nocturnal pastime, enthusiastically embracing this style of musical presentation.[307] Many opera companies and symphonies from Europe and the United States passed through Puebla, such as Ricardo Castro in 1902 and the Brussels Quartet in 1907 who performed in front of sell-out crowds.[308] Patrons of the symphony tended to prefer and appreciate the musical scores of Beethoven, Chopin, and Maskowski.[309]

To enjoy quality theatrical performances, the elite had to travel to Mexico City to see productions from such notable thespians as Sarah Bernhardt, who performed in *The Lady of the Camellias* in the National theatre of Mexico City in 1887.[310] A highly acclaimed Italian Drama company led by Giovani Emanuel did make the trip south to Puebla and performed *King Lear* and the *El mundo de Fastidio.*[311]

Perhaps the greatest change in elite behaviour that occurred during the Porfiriato was the new faddish obsession with sports and recreation. A possible explanation for the sudden interest in sporting activity by the poblano elite can

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[307] *Ibid.*, 764.

[308] *Ibid.*, 774.

[309] *Ibid.*, 774.

[310] *Ibid.*, 796-797.

[311] *Ibid.*, 797.

be found in the argument propounded by William Beezley. Beezley adopted Norbert Elias' and Eric Dunnings' sociological theory to the Mexican context. Elias and Dunning postulated that organized sport "was the quest for excitement in unexciting societies."[312] That is, frontier communities and lawless societies did not develop the need for organized sport because little time could be afforded to such a time consuming luxury.[313] Once the Porfirian system had been established and there was no need to worry about personal preservation or military conflict, it was possible to allocate time out of the day to leisure activities such as sport. While there are flaws in such a hypothesis it does fit the poblano situation well. The years prior to 1876 had been filled with a continuous flood of unpleasantries that the entire population of Puebla had to endure. This may explain why very few recreational and leisure activities were available to the elite during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century. The difficulty with Beezley's assumption is that it does not explain the elite's participation in equestrian-related events, such as the charreada, during the early nineteenth century. Practicing horsemanship and being a spectator at a charreada are forms of participation in a sport. Yet, the theory is tenable, for there was one

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[312] Beezley, 33. The original theory of the development of organized sport in highly organized centres and during periods of peace was derived from the sociological work of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning. Beezley uses this theory to explain the rise in organized sport in Mexico during the Porfiriato.

[313] *Ibid.*, 33.

fundamental difference between the organized and fashionable sports enjoyed by the elite during the Porfiriato and the horse-related sports of the colonial and early nineteenth century: they related to a practical lifestyle and reflected a traditional past. The pre-Porfirian elite lived in a world where the horse was one of the chief forms of transportation. The horse also served a crucial function for the elite in the military, as a visual cue to rank as well as providing the rider with a speed and height advantage in combat. Becoming a proficient rider made practical sense. Furthermore, the charreada showcased the equestrian skills of a charro, who combined the practical nature of his work with his deftness at handling a horse. Because of the Spaniards' influence, the horse has played a significant role in the historical, traditional, and daily lives of the Mexican elite throughout the colonial period into the twentieth century.[314] This is evident in the word '*caballero*', whose English equivalent is 'gentleman', while the literal translation means 'horseman'.

The sports which became popular with the Porfirian elite did not have the same traditional, historical or practical background. One of the first recreational sports to catch on was roller skating.[315] The popularity of putting on skates with wooden rollers continued until the eve of the

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[314] Some of the most famous photographs of political leaders or prominent historical figures were taken with horses, such as Porfirio Díaz, Francisco Madero and Francisco Villa.

[315] Moíses González Navárro, 710.

revolution.[316] Cycling enjoyed even greater enthusiasm among the poblano elite. The cycling craze began in Mexico City between 1880 and 1884 when the Michaux bicycle outlet opened on the north side of the Alameda in downtown Mexico City.[317] Soon the 'Parisian Mania' hit the city of Puebla.[318] Upper class men and women embraced this new form of recreation with considerable ebullience and were soon cycling through the streets and parks of the city. Because the Humbert and Raleigh bicycles were extremely expensive and had to be imported from England, the cycling fad remained an upper class activity [319] By 12 October 1892 the first cycling club called the Club Colón was established, followed by the Club Atlántico, Club México and the construction of a velodrome.[320] Races were held between clubs in Puebla, Mexico City and other major centres throughout Mexico. Even touring teams such as the Sterling Bicycle Team visited and competed against the local poblanos in 1894.[321] A fierce rivalry burgeoned between the poblano and capitalino racing clubs. As a result, when a hometown favorite triumphed, celebrations

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[316] Beezley, 62.

[317] *Ibid.*, 42.

[318] 'Parisian Mania' was used to describe the cycling rage which swept through the major centres of Mexico. Beezley, 41.

[319] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. III, 58.

[320] Beezley, 45.; Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. III, 59.

[321] Beezley, 45.

and revelry followed, as they did in 1910 when the poblano, Roberto Alvarez, defeated his competitors to win a 100 kilometer cycling race in three and a half hours.[322]

Cycling was not limited to afternoon rides through the park or competitive races. Excursions were organized to tour the countryside, including trips to Cholula and Popocatépetl.[323] The popularity of cycling was such that the increasing number of bicycles eventually caused traffic problems. To counter the predicament, the municipal administration of Puebla in 1908 demanded that each bicycle be registered at a cost of one peso per year.[324]

The arrival of the automobile and motorcycle garnered similar enthusiasm among wealthy adventure seekers. The first automobiles began to arrive in Puebla between 1901 and 1902. Not surprisingly, Francisco de Velasco was one of the first to own a motorized vehicle. Velasco owned at least two cars, including a Lincoln.[325] By 1910, the elite were trading in their luxury coaches for automobiles.[326] Yet another example of a tradition replaced by the elite's eagerness to display their modern and progressive lifestyle.

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[322] González Navárro, 720-21.

[323] *Ibid.*, 717.

[324] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. III, 59.

[325] *Ibid.*, 66.

[326] *Ibid.*, 67.

The first poblano to own a motorcycle was Ignacio Aguilar, who brought his English made 'Indian' to Puebla in 1908.[327] It was not long before other models of English motorbikes such as the 'Olycen' and 'Peghan' were seen on the streets of Puebla. Similar to the bicycle craze, clubs began to form as soon as there were enough automobile and motorcycle owners. One of the greatest recreational outlets for the owners were competitive races conducted on the new highway built between Puebla and Mexico City.[328] As the use of the carriage dwindled in importance, the parade of vehicles nevertheless continued. In fact, the promenade of motorized vehicles became circus-like. Musical bands, set up on the curb, offered musical arrangements for curious crowds as they gaped in bewildered awe at the Victorias, Berlinas, Limousines and Landos which passed by.[329]

The elite became spectators themselves as organized sport came to Puebla at the turn of the nineteenth century. Poblanos had been interested in foreign organized sport before the 1900's, for some did enjoy playing cricket with the Englishmen who lived in Puebla. However, interest in cricket faded and the somewhat fickle elite became ardent supporters of the latest fads, baseball and soccer, which hit Puebla during the first decade of the twentieth century.[330]

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[327] *Ibid.*, 61.

[328] González Navárro, 717.

[329] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. III, 14.

The upper class spectators saw these outings as another chance to mingle and show off their latest fashions or automobiles.

Along with organized and leisure sports, two athletic clubs were founded as places where the youth could exercise, train and spend time. Established by Cuauhtemoc Aguilar, the first club instructed its members in the disciplines of wrestling, boxing, ju-jitsu, and fencing.[331] The Club Audax was equipped to train its members in olympic sports such as running, cycling, weightlifting, long-jump, etc.[332]

The elite acceptance of and participation in foreign sports and diversions was seen as progressive and modern behaviour. It was believed that exercise was a way in which the Mexicans could rise from their current malaise and achieve the standards of North America and Europe. For instance, a Boston reporter who extolled the healing virtues of the bicycle, claimed that "the sport is in high favor among progressive people...the bicycle worked against Mexico's national preoccupation with pills, potions, and patent medicines, which soon 'gave way to a passion for exercise, and we shall see here a wonderful change'."[333]

In some ways, the adoption of foreign cultural traits had a 'liberating' effect on women's lifestyle during the

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[330] González Navárro, 717.; Beezley, 19. The popularity of cricket declined in Puebla at the turn of the century.

[331] González Navárro, 722.

[332] *Ibid.*, 722.

[333] Beezley, 48.

Porfiriato. Generations of pre-Porfirian elite women spent the majority of their time indoors with few outlets to engage in independent recreational activity.[334] Furthermore, most forms of outdoor recreation were exclusively male. This changed in the 1880's as women became active participants in recreational and spectator sporting events. In the process of challenging traditional behaviour, supporters of Porfirian positivism inadvertently began to slowly free women from the confining lifestyle of previous centuries.[335] Young ladies were encouraged to learn how to cycle and roller skate, as these sorts of activities were indicators of a modern society. While this should not be confused with an equality movement, (for Mexican intellectuals were not willing to be that progressive), it remains significant since there was a considerable difference in lifestyle between the two periods discussed in this work. Activities such as cycling and roller skating gave women an unprecedented freedom of movement as well as an outlet for socialization with the opposite sex. No longer was courtship confined to formal get-togethers or chaperoned visitations. Young ladies could enjoy the company of a friend or young gentleman as they rode through the streets without supervision.[336] These new diversions also provided women the chance to publicly express themselves. Women wore 'bloomer' outfits as they cycled through the city.

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[334] *Ibid.*, 50.

[335] *Ibid.*, 50.

[336] *Ibid.*, 50.

These costumes were considered risqué and inappropriate by many of the opponents to women's new role in society. Traditionalists argued "...that women should be held responsible for accidents caused by their provocative garments; others averred women would tarnish their reputations by appearing nearly disrobed in public."[337]

While there were relatively few options for elite women outside marriage, there is some evidence to suggest that increased educational opportunities were available to them during this period.[338] Two of the four daughters of Miguel Bernal Ortega, Maria Bernal Bravo and Guadalupe Bernal Bravo, never married but pursued careers as teachers in the Antigio Colegio del Estado.[339] Although such a situation was rare, since marriage was still strongly encouraged, it does suggest the possibility of a life outside the traditional female roles as wife or nun.

The foreign cultural invasion was not only limited to new forms of recreation. It carried over into fashion and simple daily routines, where French influence predominated. Women's fashions, in particular, were dictated by the latest trends in Paris. Various methods were employed by elite women to acquire the 'latest' Parisian fashions. An increasing number of wealthy families vacationed in Europe during spring and winter on a regular basis, which meant that goods could

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[337] *Ibid.*, 51.

[338] Interview with Aldo Rivero Pastor, August 17-20, 1984.

[339] Interview with Aldo Rivero Pastor, August 17-20, 1984.

be brought over in person.[340] Specialty shops in Mexico City also imported fine clothing from Europe, as well as catalogs from Paris which illustrated fashions for women, men and children.[341] (see Plate 4)

During the three decades of Porfirio's rule, a number of stylistic changes occurred with regards to women's fashion. The style of dress the poblano women adopted in the seventies was called the *polisson* which was similar in style to the court fashions introduced by Empress Carlota and her retinue.[342] The polisson was characterized by small cushions placed alongside the hips underneath the petticoat.[343] The purpose served to create the affect of a puffy and voluminous posterior. The polisson was soon replaced by the crinoline in the late seventies and early eighties.[344] In this dress, copper wire hoops were sewn into the petticoat to produce a uniformly wide skirt, a style popular with the elite for the remaining period.

For the men, the Porfiriato was the age of 'tails'.[345] Wealthy gentlemen were commonly seen wearing tailored vests

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[340] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. II, 14.

[341] Interview with Aldo Rivero Pastor, August 17-20, 1984. Miguel Bernal Ortega's wife had numerous fashion catalogs from France, French dresses that had been purchased at an import store, as well as dresses that were made by a seamstress following the patterns on the catalog.

[342] Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. II, 26.

[343] *Ibid.*, 27.

[344] *Ibid.*, 27.

PLATE 4: Example of Parisian Fashion Catalogue

Source: *Le Monde Elégant*. December 1873. Taken from the Library of José Rivero Carvallo Garmendia

with frock coats or a morning coat and top hats or bombines.[346] The numerous accessories which accompanied the male apparel included: elaborate canes with gold and silver hilts; black or ivory leather gloves; tie or ascot with gold pins inlaid with precious stones; elaborate gold timepieces such as Omega and Longines; as well as a number of large rings adorning their fingers.[347]

Young girls wore dresses similar in style to those worn by their mothers, whereas the clothing of young boys bore no resemblance to the styles worn by their fathers. Young boys, instead, wore a long, straight jacket with a sailor's collar and long shorts extending to their kneecaps. Socks, which covered the calf muscle, were then used to protect as much exposed skin as possible. A beret completed this 'English-style' ensemble.[348]

French influence was also apparent in day-to-day life in the elite household. Elite families reposed, entertained and dined on imported French furniture as well as served and consumed French cuisine.[349] Even the houses constructed during the Porfiriato were labeled 'chalets' because of their French influence.

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[345] *Ibid.*, 27.

[346] *Ibid.*, 27.

[347] *Ibid.*, 27.

[348] *Ibid.*, 28.

[349] *Ibid.*, 14.

The change in elite social behaviour was not only reflected in their enjoyment of new leisure activities, fashions or increased freedom for women. Many members of the upper class made a concerted effort to advance the positivist ideal in Puebla by attempting to improve themselves as well as their surroundings. Even though many were directly or indirectly involved in industry, the entrepreneurial spirit of the first six decades of the nineteenth century was overshadowed by a new set of elite interests. Many Porfirian elite became part-time historians, writers, painters, poets, professionals, and founders of educational institutions.[350] Francisco de Velasco was the most successful poblano at transforming Puebla into a 'modern' city. Although he began as an industrialist he became involved in politics to pursue his dream of modernizing Puebla. After his term as Municipal President, Francisco de Velasco pursued another passion: writing. With two books to his credit, documenting his accomplishments as Municipal President and an autobiography, he also became the owner and director of the local daily

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[350] The foundation of El Colegio del Estado de Puebla in the 1880's was developed by the elite. José Rafael Isunza, the man in charge of developing the schools curriculum had traveled to Spain, France, Germany, England, Belgium and Switzerland to observe the best system of education which was then to be modified for Puebla's new centre of learning. Based on the positivist and Spencerian view, Porfirian education was to be a public education which was to mold a homogeneous people equipped with values, attitudes, and skills appropriate to modernization. As a result of this desire for modernization and progress, there was a considerable bias towards the sciences and legal professions. Ana Maria Huerta Jaramillo. "El Colegio del Estado de Puebla, 1893-1910. José Rafael Isunza y la modernidad educativa.", in Contreras Cruz (ed.), *Espacio y perfiles: historia regional mexicana del siglo XIX*, 267-290. 272-3.; Mary Kay Vaughan. *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928*. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982.), 24.

paper, "La Crónica".[351] Francisco de Velasco was an interesting character with a dual nature. He lived in ostentatious splendour, typical of the elite of this time, yet he was one of the founding members of the Red Cross in Puebla and believed that his program to modernize the city benefited everyone.[352]

Miguel Bernal Ortega spent much of his time extolling the virtues of Porfirian positivism through the foundation and improvement of Puebla's educational facilities.[353] Bernal Ortega became the director of the Antigio Colegio del Estado and Colegio de Carolino, and believed and supported the ideal of an equal education for women.[354]

José Rivero Carvallo arrived in Puebla from Mérida in the first decade of the twentieth century. An industrialist, Rivero had many other interests including, writing history, poetry, composing music, and politics.[355] This multi-faceted

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[351] Francisco de Velasco. *Puebla y su transformación. Mis proyectos y mi gestión en el Ayuntamiento de Puebla de 1907 a 1910.* Puebla: Imprenta "el Escritorio, 1912.) and *Autobiografia.* Puebla: Editorial Grupo Literario Bohemia Poblana, no date); Cordero y Torres. *Diccionario Biografico de Puebla* Vol. II. (Puebla: Centro de Estudios Historicós de Puebla, 1972.), 699.

[352] Cordero y Torres. *Diccionario,* Vol. II, 699.

[353] Involvement in education for the elite was a hobby since the income from this area was minimal. AGN. *Gobernacion. 1881. Presupuesto de Ingresos y Egresos para 1882.* A director made 600 pesos; professors of physiology, pathology, natural history etc. = 475.

[354] Interview with Aldo Rivero Pastor, August 17-20, 1984.; Cordero y Torres. *Historia Compendiada del Estado de Puebla.* Vol. III, 182.

[355] *Ibid.*; Cordero y Torres. *Diccionario,* Vol. II, 348. He was also responsible for establishing La sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de Puebla in 1963 and was the author of six books on the history of Puebla.

individual's success carried over into the post-Porfirian years as he served a term as municipal president. He was also involved in the production and bottling of soda pop as well as the exportation of honey to Germany.[356]

In summary, elite social behaviour underwent numerous changes during the Porfirian period. Though the wealthy poblanos during the pre-Porfirian era were influenced by European values and traditions, they nevertheless retained some traditional aspects of Ibero-Mexican culture. This changed during the Porfiriato as positivist supporters set out to remove the archaic traditions of Mexico's past, replacing them with the progressive and modern economic, social and cultural values of Europe. This had a considerable effect on the behaviour of the elite as European fashions, fads, and sports became an important aspect of their lifestyle. Since the Porfiriato provided Puebla with a period of unprecedented peace in the nineteenth century, there was also more time for the elite to engage in recreational activity. Consequently, many elite members of Puebla developed a number of new interests, especially in the literary arts, which demonstrated their cultural and educational background. This new lifestyle based on foreign values and the new forms of transportation and communication combined to broaden the poblano elite's traditionally insular

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[356] *Ibid.*, The property where Jose Rivero Carvallo lived (currently Colonia Humbolt) and had his factories is still occupied by his descendents.

perspective as well as strengthen the ties between other extra-regional elites throughout central Mexico.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The regional focus of this study seeks to offer insight into the distinct social and economic behaviour of the poblano elite during the early nineteenth century and Porfiriato. Although many questions remain concerning their role in Puebla's historical and contemporary development, by examining their economic and social activity during a period of dynamic change, it is possible to test the validity of many of the standard interpretations of national and elite Mexican history.

Many factors contributed to the composition and development of Puebla's elite throughout the period covered by this study. The socio-economic behaviour displayed by the poblano elite in the nineteenth century was not only effected by the turbulent uncertainty which afflicted the 1800's, but also by a historical, societal and economic tradition which had its roots in the sixteenth century.

During the city's initial phase of growth, a multitude of regional and extraneous factors combined to separate Puebla from other cities and towns of Mexico. Although the social component championed by Fray Garcés failed, Puebla's foundation set the city on a unique path of socio-economic

and historical development. Unappealing to encomenderos or fortune hunters, Puebla attracted a number of skilled artisans and manufacturers who saw the new 'Spanish' city as beneficial to their economic well-being. For instance, many of the crown privileges granted to Puebla in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as tax concessions, favoured the merchant and manufacturer. The city's location on the Camino Real was also advantageous for those who engaged in trade, manufacturing and commerce. Ideal geographical surroundings provided the city and its inhabitants with a number of unique benefits. The diverse areas within the state were able to supply Puebla's population with the basic staples of the Mexican diet, as well as an abundant variety of temperate and semi-arid agricultural goods. These factors, which include the distinct foundation; ideal geographical location; agriculturally self-sufficient community; privileges granted by the crown; and growing skilled immigrant population, resulted in an early settlement pattern containing a diverse mix of small estate-owners, artisans, merchants, and manufacturers. The combination of these disparate components resulted in Puebla developing the strongest industrial and manufacturing sectors in Mexico.

Manufacturing and industry had a tremendous influence on the economic and social behaviour of the elite throughout the colonial period and the nineteenth century. For the majority of the poblano upper class, economic success and elite status were directly connected to their involvement in milling and

textiles. A pattern that emerged in the 1780's altered the composition of the poblano upper class in the nineteenth century. With the aid of the pervasive inferiority complex of la Malinche and knowledge of the latest technology, skilled European immigrants were able to amass a considerable amount of wealth through manufacturing and milling. Through these endeavours, these highly motivated individuals were able to acquire elite status in a very short period of time. While lineage and reputation were still important, by the turn of the eighteenth century, Puebla's primary prerequisite for gaining and maintaining elite membership was wealth.

Once the acquisition of wealth had been achieved, a number of prospective elite members consolidated their position within the elite ranks by marrying into the old respected poblano families. In a number of cases, the children of these arranged unions were able to continue the traditions set by their fathers and became prominent members of Puebla's elite circle. As the upper class family members matured, they were encouraged to pursue high ranking roles in Puebla's political, economic, and ecclesiastical institutions. Diversifying the family's economic and professional portfolios created a powerful familial network that expanded connections, access to credit, and prestige. Not only did the Furlongs, García de Huesca, and Haro y Tamariz excel in industry and manufacturing; they also contributed to Puebla's politics and military. It was not

uncommon for prominent industrialists to become officers in the military and politicians.

Seeking new ways to acquire wealth and simultaneously combat the economic recession resulting from the wars of Independence, the *clase divina* began to invest in the textile industry. As early as the 1830's, upper class entrepreneurs began to convert their flour mills and obrajes into mechanized textile factories. Considerable fortunes were made through this modernization process as Puebla strengthened its position as the leading textile producer of Mexico. The textile and manufacturing industries became so important to the elite's success, lifestyle, and acquisition of wealth, that the poblanos defined themselves and were recognized through their role as industrialists.

The textile industry grew and expanded during the Porfiriato as it benefited from the development of Puebla's infrastructure and the Pax Porfiriana. Surprisingly, however, the elite did not benefit from Porfirian economic policy as much as one would expect. Fundamentally, the elite's economic behaviour and investment remained the same. The only marked difference from the previous period was an increase in the scale of operation. The modernizing process, usually attributed to the Porfiriato, had been initiated decades earlier in Puebla. The greatest benefit the Porfiriato had on the poblano economy was that it provided the necessary period of peace for its industries to expand and seek new markets

without the constant threat of external and internal confrontation and disruption.

Many of the prominent families of the pre-Porfirian period did not figure as prominently in the age of Díaz. A new patrician class emerged during the Porfiriato assuming the positions of economic and political power. Yet, involvement in industry, the proven path of elite success and wealth, nevertheless remained the same. While industry continued to be a necessity, there is a sense that the upper class were not as eager to define themselves through their economic roles. Rather, industrial activity was seen as a means of accumulating the desired wealth which paid for the extravagance of the *nouveau* social lifestyle adopted by the Porfirian upper class.

In contrast to the relatively static economic behaviour, elite social behaviour underwent numerous alterations during the Porfirian period. During the early nineteenth century, elite lifestyle was insular and sectarian. Social activities were usually confined to private functions or expensive upper class forms of entertainment such as the theatre. Even though the upper class did engage in conspicuous consumption to display their wealth, many of the social behaviours they took pleasure in had their roots in Ibero-Mexican traditions.

With the advent of the Porfiriato, elite social behaviour underwent a radical change. Influenced by positivism and the Pax Porfiriana, the poblano elite rejected their own cultural heritage and proceeded to adopt the

physical and cultural trappings of Europe and the United States. The elite, in their pursuit of becoming members of the international gentry, were besieged by fads, such as organized sport and French fashion. The acceptance of these foreign cultural ideals was seen as fulfilling the positivist doctrine of becoming modern and progressive. Possessing these ostentatious foreign goods was also a form of displaying personal wealth and status to the public. The means by which the upper class gained public prestige was not limited to their involvement in new fads or their purchasing power, for a trend developed where elite males pursued culturally enriching hobbies such as founding schools, newspapers or becoming historians and poets. Behavioural change during the Porfiriato also had unforeseen consequences, as women were 'liberated' from their confining lifestyle. In general, the adoption of foreign cultural ideals, coupled with technological advances in transportation and communication, broadened the elite's perspective and chiseled away at the protective walls of Puebla's upper class existence.

The regional diversity and events surrounding the historical maturation of Puebla had a tremendous impact on the composition and behaviour of the poblano elite. By closely examining such issues as the nature of its foundation and the importance of industry, it is clear that the development of Puebla and its patrician class was unequivocally unique within Mexico. This is significant, if one takes into consideration that many of the socio-economic

behaviours exhibited by the poblano elite contradict Latin American elite theory and traditional Mexican historiography. This was due, in large part, to the industrial nature of Puebla, which figured prominently throughout the major themes discussed in this study. Not only did it define elite status and membership, it was responsible for allowing a number of foreigners and their offspring to become leading members of the poblano elite. One of the surprising elements of this work was that the Porfiriato had a greater effect on cultural and social habits than on economic behaviour. Even though the elite embraced foreign cultural ideals, industry remained important for it maintained their pretentious lifestyle.

In a general sense, this work has demonstrated the value of micro-history, and at the same time, the need to question the existing theories and historical works that cast erroneous generalizations upon a geographically and culturally diverse country.

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APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

Alcabala	Spanish sales tax imposed by the Crown.
Alcalde	Member of a cabildo who in addition to administrative duties served as judge of first instance
Audiencia	a) A colonial high court and council of state under a viceroy; b) the area of its jurisdiction
Cabildo	A municipal council
Cacique	a) an Indian chief or local ruler; b) powerful local ruler
Colegio	A college or school
Corregidor	Royal governor of a district
Creole	An American-born Spaniard
Encomendero	The holder of an *encomienda*
Encomienda	An assignment of Indians who were to serve the Spanish grantee with tribute and labour; also, the area of the Indians so granted.
Hacendado	The owner of a hacienda
Hacienda	A large landed estate
Mestizo	A person of mixed Indian and white descent
Obraje	A factory or workshop, especially textile manufacture, often employing convict or debt labour.
Oidor	Judge of an audiencia
Peninsular	Spaniards who came over from Spain to live or work in Latin America
Peso	A monetary unit of eight reales
Poblano	Used to describe those who live in the city of Puebla.
Porfiriato	Period dominated by General Porfirio Díaz and his policies. (1876 to 1910)

Puebla One of the eleven central states of Mexico, bordered by Oaxaca, Veracruz, Mexico, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Guerrero.

Puebla de los Angeles or Puebla de Zaragoza The capital city of the state of Puebla founded in 1531.

Pueblo Small town or village

Real A monetary unit: one-eighth of a peso

Tocineria Butcher and processing shops for pork and related products.

APPENDIX I

PROPERTY AND ASSETS OF FIVE PROMINENT POBLANOS

I. **Manuel García Teruel** (1812-1889)

ASSETS	PESOS
Factories	
La Carolina	-
Mills	
Molino de Santo Domingo	-
Haciendas and Ranchos	
Hacienda in Izúcar de Matamoros	-
3 haciendas in Atlixco (cereals)	-
3 ranchos in Atlixco (cereals)	-
3 ranchos in Huamantla (livestock)	-
Houses and Property	
19 houses	-
part owner of a seminary	-
Franciscan convent in Totemehuacán	-
3 lots in Jalapa	-
2 exercise gyms in Jalapa	-
TOTAL	UNKNOWN

II. **Pedro Berges de Zúñiga** (?)

- Immigrant from France, moved to Puebla sometime between 1840 and 1850. Became the owner of the La Constancia Mexicana factory in 1865.

ASSETS	PESOS
Factories	
La Constancia Mexicana	260,000.00
La Economía	93,000.00
La Independencia	50,000.00
La Noria	41,000.00
Mills	
El Molino de Santo Domingo	76,000.00
Haciendas and Ranchos	
Santo Domingo	39,000.00
La Noria	49,000.00
Apetlachica	21,000.00
Cuyucuenda	50,000.00

Rancho de Agua Azul	20,000.00
TOTAL	**699,000.00**

III. **Ciriaco Marrón y Carballo** (1830-1880)

ASSETS	PESOS
Factories	
El Valor	149,805.80
Haciendas	
3 in Cholula	224,297.56
Mills	
1 mill and one house	9,758.10
Houses	
1 in Puebla	16,065.00
Other	
Misc. property	22,233.83
Credits	
Various	70,448.35
TOTAL	**492,608.64**

IV. **Andrés Torres** (1807-1877)

ASSETS	PESOS
Factories	
La Beneficencia	64,987.00
San Juan Amatlan	49,700.00
Ranchos	
1 ranch	4,050.00
Houses	
12 houses	79,540.00
1 house in Huejotzingo	1,625.50
Credits	
Misc.	198,988.60
Other	9, 585.49
TOTAL	**408,476.59**

V. **Apolonio Hernandez** (?)

- Acquired one of Luis de Haro's factories in 1877.

ASSETS	PESOS
Factories	
La Amistad	57,419.15
No. 10 Calle Real del Alto	19,150.03
Houses	
1 house	23,134.25
Commerce	
1 'casa de comercio'	50,056.60
Credits	
Misc.	41,078.15
TOTAL	**190,838.18**

Source: AGNP, Notarial records; Carmen Aguirre Anaya. *Personificaciones de capital: siete propiedades en la sociedad e industria textil de Puebla durante el siglo XIX.*; Carmen Aguirre Anaya. "Capitales y textiles en la ciudad de Puebla. Nueve patrimonios durante el siglo XIX".pp. 159-170.; Carmen Aguirre Anaya. "Propietarios de la industria textil de Puebla en el siglo XIX: Dionisio de Velasco y Pedro Berges de Zuñiga." pp. 186-224.